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NAPOLEON

AT

FONTAINEBLEAU AND ELBA

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

MAJ.-GEN. SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, C.B.

OF DUNTROON

NAPOLEON

AT

FONTAINEBLEAU AND ELBA

BEING

A JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES

IN

31864

1814—1815

WITH NOTES OF CONVERSATIONS

BY THE LATE

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, C.B.

BRITISH COMMISSIONER, KNIGHT OF THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ORDERS OF ST. GEORGE, ST. ANNE, AND ST. WLADIMIR

With a Memoir of the Life and Services of that Officer

BY HIS NEPHEW

ARCHIBALD NEIL CAMPBELL MACLACHLAN, M.A.

VICAR OF NEWTON VALENCE, HANTS

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WITH A PORTRAIT

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1869

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PREFACE.

THE JOURNAL of the late SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, now offered to the public, has been for some years in my possession. From time to time I had looked over the MS. in a cursory manner, and dim visions of submitting it to the press had flitted across my mind.

At each fresh reading I fancied the characters became more difficult to decipher, the paper (very thin and evidently of foreign manufacture) more blurred and wormeaten. One day, after a somewhat longer interval than usual of its being drawn out from under lock and key,—

. . . claves et grata sigilla pudico,

the truth flashed upon me—it must be 'now or never.' There was no more choice in the matter. Either the MS. would perish by the mere process of natural decay —I should be obliged to say to it, as Horace to *his* book,

Tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,

—or it must be at once transcribed.

Accordingly it was the pleasant employ of leisure hours during a prolonged winter—the break-in upon the daily routine of a 'country parson,' and the primary

duties of parish-work—to write out a fair copy of the complete MS., and so rescue it from its impending fate.

Some friends to whom it was then shown, agreed in thinking that, over and above the value of every fragment bearing upon Napoleon's history, the Diary of Sir Neil Campbell contained much information not hitherto disclosed, touching the conduct of Napoleon during his residence at Elba, the preparations for his escape, and his consummate skill both in veiling and executing the manœuvres which led to the crowning event of his career.

It was therefore decided that the Journal should no longer remain in its manuscript form, but be laid before the general reader.

In the next place it seemed necessary to prefix a brief Memoir of the Author, in order to show (however imperfectly) what manner of man he was.

But here many difficulties arose from the scarcity of materials. There were few of Sir Neil Campbell's letters or papers at hand, by help of which to trace out the story of his life 'from year to year.'

The whole of his baggage, having been near the front when he received his wounds at Fêre Champenoise in March 1814, disappeared from under the charge of the Cossacks, who were supposed to protect it, and could never afterwards be recovered. With it went the greater part of his military and official papers. At a subsequent period a box, in which the mass of his correspondence had been treasured up by one of his sisters, was lost together with the 'Duntroon charter-chest,' containing many valuable documents and ancient

family relics, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the agent to whose care they had been committed by the owners, during their residence on the Continent. I have therefore been obliged, in preparing my own comparatively trifling portion of the book, to content myself with such scanty memoranda as had escaped these disastrous chances. Living in a remote part of the country, with no extensive *general* library of my own, I have enjoyed few opportunities of consulting books of reference, and thereby fully verifying allusions and facts of history; so that I am only too well aware of my many shortcomings and possible mistakes. And last but not least embarrassment of all, ever present to my mind while venturing to write of 'battles, sieges, fortunes,' has been the great Emperor's dictum, as recorded by my uncle's pen, and evidently stamped with his approval, '*that the Archbishop of Malines, who had been his* [Napoleon's] *chaplain, was extremely addicted to descanting on military subjects, which is very disgusting to military men!*'

A. N. C. McL.

NEWTON VALENCE VICARAGE:
January 1, 1869.

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MEMOIR

OF

MAJOR-GEN. SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, KNT., C.B.

KNIGHT OF THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN
ORDERS OF ST. GEORGE, ST. ANNE, AND ST. WLADIMIR;
SOMETIME BRITISH COMMISSIONER WITH NAPOLEON AT ELBA;
GOVERNOR OF SIERRA LEONE; AND COLONEL OF
THE ROYAL AFRICAN CORPS.

CHAPTER I.

[1776—1810.]

CAMPBELLS OF DUNTROON—COMMENCEMENT OF MILITARY CAREER—JAMAICA—CAICOS ISLANDS—MILITARY COLLEGE—SHORNCLIFF CAMP—WEST INDIES, SECOND TIME—WEST INDIES, THIRD TIME—MARTINIQUE—THE SAINTES—GUADALOUPE.

Sir Neil Campbell, the writer of the MS. narrative hereafter to be detailed, was the second son of Neil Campbell, Esq., of Duntroon Castle and Oib, in the county of Argyle, a Highland gentleman of ancient lineage, and fair landed estate, and was born on May 1, 1776. His mother was Jean, daughter of Archibald Campbell, Esq., of Blandfield, a younger son of Campbell of Craigníish, and Captain in the 3rd (King's Own) Dragoons, who had served as Aide-de-camp to General Humphry Bland, and Judge Advocate, during the war in the Low Countries, and the campaign against the Pretender, under the orders of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, 1745–46.

The eldest son of 'Duntroon,' on whom the hopes of the family had fondly rested, fell mortally wounded at the battle of the Helder, October 2, 1799,—'shot through the body,' as wrote his Colonel, Sir Allan Cameron, 'while most gallantly leading the Grenadier Company' of the 79th Highlanders—and was the first officer of that famous regiment ever killed in action. He had previously served in the East Indies, at the taking of Pondicherry in 1793, and

at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795. General Stewart of Garth, in his 'Military Annals of Highland Regiments' (vol. ii. p. 28), thus speaks of him: 'At Bergen, 1799, the regiment lost Captain James Campbell of Duntroon, who, with great intelligence, an open and generous mind, and a personal appearance the most prepossessing, exhibited in every view, according to the opinion of an old Highlander, a perfect model of one of the heroes described in Ossian.'

The Campbells of Duntroon, a younger branch of the House of Argyll, had been for centuries established in their wild and rocky stronghold, the time-worn battlements of which, overlooking Loch Crinan, still form a prominent feature in that bold and picturesque scenery. Although now, except in the female line, that ancient race has come to an end,[1] and the lands so long possessed by them have passed into other hands, many and curious are the Gaelic legends and antique poems yet in existence, telling quaintly the story of their feuds and their friendships, the devotion of their retainers, and the martial

[1] A tablet erected in Kilmartin Church, Argyleshire, records as follows:

To the Memory of
GENERAL PATRICK CAMPBELL, R.A.,
Last surviving Son of Neil Campbell, Esq., of Duntroon and Oib.
Born 17th December, 1779. Died 29th August, 1857.
1795, commenced his Military Career in the West Indies, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, against the French, the Caribs, and Negroes.
1800, Major of Brigade to the Artillery at Gibraltar.
1809, joined the Spanish Army under General Cuesta. As Volunteer present at the Battle of Medellin, and all the Operations with the British Troops in the South of Spain, at Castalla, Tarragona, &c., and engaged at the Battle of Talavera.
1810, in Isle of Leon, A.D.C. to the Duke of Albuquerque and Military Correspondent to Mr. Frere at Madrid.
1811, raised a Spanish L. I. Regiment, appointed its Colonel, had the rank of Major-General and the Orders of Charles III. and San Fernando conferred upon him.
1813-14, commanded a Spanish Brigade in the Field.
1815—21, in Catalonia, on General Castanos' Staff, and Military Correspondent to Mr. Frere at Madrid.
1823, his active Military Service ended, commenced a Diplomatic Career, and, as British Commissioner, made a Treaty with the Columbian Republic.
1825—30, Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota, South America.
1833—40. H. B. M. Agent and Consul-General in Egypt and Syria.
His surviving Sisters, Jane, Widow of Lieut.-General Archibald Maclachlan, and Elizabeth, erect this Tablet to record the Public Services of the last Representative of their Family.

exploits of their sons in the old feudal times.[2] It had passed into a proverb, that 'the Castle of Duntroon had never wanted a hero, a bard, or a piper.'

The authentic records of the family date back to the year 1390, when Duncan, son of Sir Colin, 13th Knight of Lochow, acquired the lands of Duntroon, and became the founder of that branch of the Argyll family.

The 'Origines Parochiales Scotiæ' quotes from Argyll Charters and Breadalbane Inventory as follows (vol. ii. p. 93):

'In the year 1448, one of the Stewards of Ardskodniche, under Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, was *Duncan Yong Campbell of Duntrone.*

'In 1470, a precept of seisin by Colin, Earl of Argyll, is addressed to *John Campbell of Duntroone* and others.

'In 1511, *Donald Campbell of Downtron* was one of the local baillies of Archibald, Earl of Argyll.

'In 1513, a precept of seisin by King James V., in favour of Earl Colin, is witnessed by *John Campbell of Duntrone.*

'In 1531, *John Campbell of Duntrwn* was one to whose arbitration all disputes between Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (ancestor of the Breadalbane family) were submitted by the parties.

'In 1565 there appear on record *Duncan Campbell of Duntrone* and Donald Campbell his brother.'

In 'Sketches of the Highlanders' (vol. ii. p. 31), General Stewart of Garth refers to the 'uniform practice in the families of the Campbells of Melfort, Duntroon, and Dunstaffnage, that when the head of either family died, the chief mourners should be the other two lairds, one of whom supported the head to the grave, while the other walked before the corpse. In this manner friendship took the place of the nearest consanguinity, for even the eldest

[2] 'Gaelic Relics,' Nos. 1, 2, 3, 16. January, March, April, 1823, and Ackermann's *Repository of the Arts*: March, 1825.

sons of the deceased were not permitted to interfere with this arrangement. The first progenitors of these families were three sons of the family of Argyll, who took this method of preserving the friendship, and securing the support of their posterity to one another.'

There had likewise been, from time immemorial, a 'bond of friendship' between the Campbells of Glenorchy and the Duntroon family; and, according to the terms of an ancient treaty, the heir of the Chief of Breadalbane for many generations was fostered at 'the Castle of Turrets.' To this quaint custom the venerable Earl of Breadalbane (father of the Marchioness de Grey) was wont pleasantly to refer, when any of the Duntroon family chanced to be visiting at Taymouth, and would especially delight in relating the old Highland tradition to his English guests.

Duntroon, or 'the Castle of Turrets' ('Neil Oig of the Turrets' having been, in olden days, the Gaelic patronymic of the laird), was famed for the natural defences of its position, and the unusual strength and thickness of its walls. In the 'Statistical Account of Scotland' (Argyleshire p. 558) there is an anecdote told relating to this very point. 'Duntroon Castle,' it says, 'withstood the ravages of the celebrated Coll Macdonnell, alias Colla Ciotach, *i. e.* left-handed Coll, and his followers, when he invaded Argyleshire.' And after giving some account of this wild adventurer, the story goes on to tell, that having with his kinsman, the Earl of Antrim (who bore no goodwill to Argyll for having joined the Covenanters), raised a body of 3000 men in Ulster, Macdonnell landed in Kintyre, and proceeded northwards, destroying and pillaging all in his way. From Castle Sween he proceeded by sea with his forces towards the Bay of Crinan, intending to attack and destroy Duntroon Castle, and sending forward his piper by land in order to procure information. The piper was admitted into the castle,

where he found, by the peculiar construction and narrowness of the staircase, that only one person could enter at a time to attack the place, and that it was otherwise sufficiently strong to repel the invaders; and being himself suspected, he was confined to one of the upper turrets of the castle, where, seeing Macdonnell's forces approaching, he contrived to warn him of the danger of making the attack, by playing on his bagpipes the well-known pibroch,

Dearest Coll, shun the tower, shun the tower, &c.[3]

This warning was understood by Macdonnell, who finding Duntroon Castle impregnable, left his faithful piper to his fate, and with his forces proceeded northwards, destroying and plundering everything in his way.

Born and nurtured in this wild ancestral home, the young Neil Campbell entered the Army in 1797. His first service was in the West Indies, where he remained for three years. In October, 1798, we find him stationed at Jamaica, as ensign in the 67th Regiment. In consequence of the evacuation of St. Domingo by the British at that period, and its delivery to Toussaint l'Ouverture the Negro chief, the colonists of the Caicos, or Turks' Islands, were apprehensive that an attack might be made upon them by the Blacks. They therefore sent an appeal for protection to the Earl of Balcarres, the Governor and Commander of the Forces in Jamaica, who accordingly despatched a small detachment of the 67th Regiment, and a party of Artillery with guns and stores, under the command of Ensign Neil Campbell. The Caicos Islands are of different sizes, extending for many leagues, the whole encircled by a reef of coral rocks, excepting in one part, where there is deep water and anchorage within the reef. Upon a small bank opposite to this anchorage Ensign Campbell placed his

[3] The 'warning,' now called 'the March of Duntroon Castle,' is still played by the pipers.

detachment, and then proceeded to construct defences, barracks, and storehouses. As the inhabitants, from the capture of their corn vessels and other disappointments incident to an infant colony, were nearly in a state of famine, the detachment was compelled to subsist entirely for many weeks upon fish procured by themselves and Indian corn. Many of the soldiers of the 67th having been rebels taken at Vinegar Hill, and transported from Ireland, were with great difficulty kept in any kind of subordination until commissariat provisions arrived from New Providence in the Bahamas. On his quitting the Caicos, Ensign Campbell received an unanimous vote of thanks from the community in accordance with the following resolution: 'That the zeal, vigilance, and judgment, manifested by Neil Campbell, Esq., of Her Majesty's 67th Regiment, in discharge of his duty as Commandant of Fort George, together with his unremitting attention to the interests and security of the Caicos, justly entitle him to the thanks and esteem of all its inhabitants.'

Having been promoted to a lieutenancy in the 57th Regiment by purchase, Neil Campbell returned to England in 1800, and shortly after joined the Rifle Corps (95th Regiment) upon its original formation, obtaining his company by purchase in the following year.

About this time his zeal and abilities began to attract the attention of his superior officers; and, after passing through a course of study at the Military College,[4] from February 1802 to September 1803, he was appointed Assistant-Quartermaster-General in the Southern District, in which situation he remained until promoted, at the special recommendation of Sir John Moore, to a majority in

[4] 'High Wycombe would be William's ruination; all the tricks played there have been made known to me by Neil Campbell: there are a set who keep horses, race, bet, play, everything that is bad, and learn nothing, though others do study and learn.' *Life of Sir Charles Napier*, vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

the 43rd Light Infantry, then in his brigade at Shorncliff. Besides his own merits, Major Campbell found a passport to the General's favour through the fact, that his eldest brother James, a captain in the 79th Highlanders, had served in Sir John Moore's Brigade during the expedition to the Helder, where, as before mentioned, he was mortally wounded at the head of the Grenadier company of his regiment.

It was while stationed at Shorncliff, that Neil Campbell formed that close and lasting friendship with Sir Charles Napier, which was often referred to by that great soldier, and of which mention is made in his Life.[5]

When recalling anecdotes of the camp, Sir Charles would tell of an impromptu race, from the bottom to the top of the Shorncliff height, which took place on some occasion among a party of officers, when, as he said, 'Neil Campbell beat us all!'

Of this period of service Sir William Napier speaks in the life of his distinguished brother,[6] 'To awaken the faculties of those under him, inspiring and teaching, was one of Sir John Moore's qualifications for command. At Shorncliff Camp he devised such improvements in drill, discipline, dress, arms, formations, and movements, as would have placed him for military reforms beside the Athenian Iphicrates, if he had not the greater glory of dying like the Spartan Brasidas. His materials were the 43rd, 52nd, and Rifle Regiments; and he so fashioned them, that afterwards, as the Light Division under Wellington, they were found to be soldiers unsurpassable, perhaps never equalled. The separate successful careers of the officers strikingly attest the merit of the school. So long a list of notable men could not be presented by three regiments of any service in the world.'

That in this school of heroes, this nursery for military

[5] Vol. i. pp. 30, 265, 268. [6] Vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

tactics, Neil Campbell was no unready learner, is testified by his 'Instructions for Light Infantry and Riflemen.' In the Introduction to the second edition, dated April 4th, 1812, when he was 'in camp before Badajos,' and dedicated by permission to H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, he thus writes:

'The first edition of this publication appeared without any name; and nothing is claimed beyond the labour of writing out, selecting, and arranging the exercises, which were practised by the 95th Rifle Regiment, under Colonel Manningham and the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel William Stewart, with the subsequent practice of the Light Infantry Brigade (comprising the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th Regiments) under Major-General Sir John Moore, from the year 1800 to 1806, during which period the author served in the 95th and 43rd Regiments.

'The same system of instructions and exercises which were established by these three distinguished officers (two of whom have since sacrificed their valuable lives for their king and country), are still practised by these corps; and the conspicuous services of the gallant Light Division (composed of them, the 1st and 3rd Portuguese Caçadores), in the Peninsula, require no comment.

'It has further been extended to all the Caçadore battalions of the Portuguese Army by a translation, verbatim, of the first edition, which has been given to them by Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army, approved of by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal.

'A translation has likewise been made into the Spanish language, upon which the light corps of Major-General Whittingham's Legion is now forming in the Island of Majorca.'

For nearly sixteen years, from 1808 to 1824, when a revised work upon the subject was published by order of the Adjutant-General, this book was used in all Light In-

fantry Regiments as the only standard of reference for uniformity of movement and practice.

In February, 1806, Major Neil Campbell was removed from the 43rd to the 1st battalion of the 54th Regiment, in order that he might endeavour to keep in check some irregularities which had arisen in that corps. Accompanying it to Jamaica in 1807, he remained there for a year, when failing health compelled him to return to England for a brief rest. In October 1808, however, he again proceeded to the West Indies, for the third time, having been appointed Deputy-Adjutant-General to the Forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands, with the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel.

A Journal kept by him during the voyage, and illustrated by plans and drawings, relates the usual incidents on board a troopship of that period, sailing from Woolwich to Barbadoes, and passing by Porto Santo, Madeira, and Teneriffe. The 'Creole' mounted twelve six-pounders and two nine-pounders; had a crew of twenty-four men, including master and mate; and carried, besides Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and his servant, a detachment of Artillery, consisting of five officers and forty-six men. At the Downs she joined company with 150 sail, many of them transports destined for Spain; but soon after, weighing anchor from thence, the convoy was caught by a tremendous gale, which effectually dispersed it, and blew over several of the vessels—the 'Creole' among them—to the French coast near Boulogne, though with no ultimate loss. On November 2nd, off Lymington, a detachment of Foreign Artillery, consisting of one sergeant and twenty-six men, was taken in.

On the 4th the 'Creole' passed through a fleet of light transports beating up Channel. 'These are probably,' Colonel Campbell notes, 'the ships returning from France, after landing the French troops agreeably to the Convention of Cintra.' 'On the 13th, the day being a dead calm, the

boat was lowered to pursue a turtle, which was spied 300 yards from the ship. Two hands rowed, I took the helm, and the master sat in the bow of the boat ready to seize him. As he seemed to be asleep upon the surface of the water, we approached him with as little noise as possible. When the boat almost touched him, the mate suddenly grasped him by one of his fore-fins, and tossed him into the boat. The exploit being witnessed from the ship, we were welcomed by a loud cheer in exultation of our success. The appearance of the ship with all its sails set, indolently bending from one side to another, her deck and sides crowded with men, the sea clear and smooth as glass, and the delightful warmth of the day, were truly beautiful and cheering to our spirits. There was no small anxiety to view the prize—sailors and soldiers, women and children, all crowding about us to satisfy their curiosity. The turtle was laid on his back upon the deck, to the joy of every one. In course of the evening we made three attempts after other turtle, but none of them succeeded. They were not asleep, and, when we approached within a few yards, lifted up their heads, surveyed us, and disappeared.'

In the early part of the year 1809, Colonel Campbell served as Deputy-Adjutant-General with the expedition which captured the island of Martinique.

The fleet and transports destined for the attack having been assembled in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, got under weigh on the morning of January 28th. The Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith, was on board the 'Castor,' Captain Beaver; Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost on board the 'Penelope,' Captain Dick; Major-General Maitland and Brigadier-General Sir Charles Shipley, commanding the Engineers, on board the 'Neptune,' Admiral Sir Charles Cochrane. Colonel Campbell was on board the 'Owen' schooner, taken up by his own department. The Artillery were commanded by Brigadier-General Stehelin.

The campaign was short but brilliant, lasting only twenty-five days. The army landed at various points of the island without opposition, under cover of the fleet, by sunset on January 30. On February 1, the different corps having been united under the Commander-in-Chief, advanced to the attack of the enemy's first position, which was protected in front by a deep ravine formed by the river Monsieur, and carried up the heights of Mount Surrery, which were exceedingly steep and rugged, and strengthened by redoubts.

'One light three-pounder was brought up to the great road, and placed upon a height in front, an entrenchment being thrown up for its protection by a party of workmen under the directions of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Deputy-Adjutant-General and Captain O'Reilly, Assistant Engineer.'

'Nothing,' Colonel Campbell notes in his Journal of operations, 'can exceed the apparent joy of the inhabitants of this island, of all colours and ranks, at our arrival among them; the proprietors waiting upon the Commander-in-Chief to pay their respects, and bringing presents of poultry, &c.; the militia quitting their ranks, and returning home; the inhabitants and negroes leaving Fort Royal, and going into the country, to avoid the effects of the approaching bombardment.'

On the separation of the British Force, the Commander-in-Chief was pleased by a general order 'to renew, for the last time, his thanks and affectionate respects to the various officers of his Staff,' and among others 'to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Deputy-Adjutant-General, for his active services in many instances, and in particular upon the 2nd of February, when the Commander-in-Chief was an eye-witness of the rapidity and judgment with which this officer executed his orders for withdrawing the troops from the enemy's works.'

Colonel Campbell's papers contain a memorandum of

the operations on that day, although, unlike the Commander-in-Chief, he does not mention his individual part in them.

'At midday the right wing of the 8th Regiment, with their two flank companies, commanded by Major Maxwell, and under the immediate orders of the Commander of the Forces, proceeded to attack an advanced post of the enemy at St. Omer's, upon the extremity of a point of land to our right, which projected to the rear of Mount Surrery, towards the Bouillé redoubt. When within half a mile of the houses upon the point, they received a fire from the advanced sentries. They pushed forward through a coffee plantation along the ridge, opposed by the enemy's picquets, and some round shot from the Windmill redoubts, forced the post at the end of the point, and took possession of the houses. The enemy must have expected an attack upon the Windmill redoubts in front, and from this post, for they immediately drew out their force in different parties in front of those works, amounting to 300 or 400 men, and set fire to the proprietor's house and premises in flank of the redoubt. A part of Major Maxwell's force was detached to the left, to take possession of another projecting point between St. Omer's and Surrery. The Light Battalion having been brought up to the left opposite to the Windmill, a few advanced skirmishers commenced a fire against the enemy's out-sentries, near the great road to the Windmill, about half an hour after Major Maxwell had forced St. Omer's. The Light Company of the 25th Regiment, which had just that moment joined the Light Battalion after a march, and was unacquainted with the ground, drove in the enemy's sentries, and followed their picquets with the bayonet, chasing them past the Windmill into the redoubts. One of the Black Companies of the Light Battalion accompanied them, but at this moment Major Campbell of the Royal W. I. Rangers, who commanded the Light Batta-

lion, was stunned by a musket ball, which, however, his watch prevented from penetrating into his body. A few minutes after Captain St. Clair of the Light Company, 25th Regiment, was shot through the head, and Major Campbell was forced to retire into the Windmill from a second wound in the arm. The other companies of the Light Battalion, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pakenham with part of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, pushed on to their support, but he too was wounded, and forced to quit the field. The men found that the first redoubt was farther from the summit of the ridge which they had gained than they imagined, and that in addition to the fire from this first redoubt there was another flanking them to the left, which poured upon them incessant volleys of grape. To avoid those fires they lay down under the edge of the ridge, and continued from that position to fire towards the batteries. The 23rd Regiment was brought down the road, and formed in columns of subdivisions, ready to advance to the support of the others, or to cover their retreat. The Commander of the Forces and Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost took post at their head. This position and the firing on both sides were continued for twenty minutes; during which time it was doubtful whether to advance with the 23rd, in order to storm the redoubts with the bayonet, or to draw off the troops, who were dispersed in various parties along the crest of the hill, lying on their faces. Many men were returning wounded, many others without ammunition, and it was reported that very few rounds remained. Two or three Staff officers were sent forward to reconnoitre the works, and their reports being decidedly against any such attempt at that time, from the apparent strength of the redoubts, it was determined to draw off the men. A Staff officer was sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeney[7] of the 7th with

[7] Afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Edward Blakeney.

these orders. The "Retreat" and the "Close" were sounded by two bugles, and the retreat was effected by the parties passing through each other in succession. It might have been expected that the enemy would seize this very favourable moment to sally from their redoubts, but nothing was attempted, as probably from their own incessant fire, and a heavy fall of rain at the time, they were prevented from seeing our movements. We lost several men in the course of this morning upon the height of Surrery by cannon shot from these redoubts, particularly the easternmost flanking battery.

'The King's Regiment, 8th, threw up an entrenchment on their own front, across the advanced point which they occupied.'

After a series of obstinate fights, the enemy's troops were driven into Fort Bourbon, the key of the island; and on its being besieged and taken, the final conquest of Martinique was effected, and the French with the Governor Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse (the opponent of Lord Howe, June 1, 1794) surrendered.

In the following April, 1809, Colonel Campbell accompanied Major-General Maitland, as Senior Officer of the Staff, in his successful attack upon the Saintes Islands. Having been landed under the protection of a British squadron commanded by Captain Philip Beaver, of His Majesty's frigate 'Acasta,' the troops first possessed themselves of a mountain called Moine Russel, which completely commanded the harbour or roadstead. This, from having three distinct entrances, was not easily blockaded, but some guns from the height above having been brought to bear, three French ships of war, which had taken refuge there, were obliged to put to sea, and, after a smart chase, one of them, the 'D'Hautpoult,' was captured by the British fleet.

The landing at the Saintes took place on April 14, and the island finally surrendered on the 17th. The act in

regard to the capitulation was signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell on the part of the British, and by Colonel Madier on the part of the French commander.

In the despatch of Major-General Maitland, dated, Camp at the Saintes, April 18, 1809, and addressed to Lieut. General Beckwith, Commander of the Forces, he says: 'Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Deputy-Adjutant-General, has been always forward; he is an officer who must rise by his merits.'

In January, 1810, Colonel Campbell served as Deputy-Adjutant-General with the expedition which terminated in the capture of Gaudaloupe. During these operations he was detached with a column under the command of Major-General Harcourt, and in the despatch of that officer to Sir George Beckwith, the following observations occur:

'Port Bellair, Moine St. Louis, Guadaloupe:
'February 7, 1810.

'Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, Deputy-Adjutant-General, merits my warmest acknowledgments by his zealous services, which have been unremitting, particularly for his exertions and able assistance in the affair of the 3rd.'

On that day an engagement had taken place between General Harcourt's division and a body of French troops, on the ridge Beaupère St. Louis, when the latter were defeated. The island surrendered on April 6, the Governor, General Ernouf, and the whole garrison becoming prisoners of war.

CHAPTER II.

[1810—1813.]

RESIGNS STAFF APPOINTMENT IN WEST INDIES—PROCEEDS AS VOLUNTEER TO PENINSULA—APPOINTED COLONEL OF 16TH REGIMENT PORTUGUESE INFANTRY—BLOCKADE OF ALMEIDA AND BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONORE—BLOWING UP OF WORKS AT ALMEIDA AND SUBSEQUENT CATASTROPHE—ATTACK OF FEVER AND JOURNEY TO LISBON—REJOINS THE ARMY NEAR SABUGAL—RELIEF OF CIUDAD RODRIGO BY MARMONT—COMBATS OF EL BODON AND ALDEA DE PONTE—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO—RECEIVES HONOURABLE MENTION BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PACK, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PICTON, AND LORD WELLINGTON — SIEGE OF BADAJOS — ADVANCE FROM CIUDAD RODRIGO TOWARDS THE DOURO—HOLDS TEMPORARY COMMAND OF PACK'S BRIGADE—BRIDGE OF TORDESILLAS—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—OCCUPATION OF MADRID—CAPTURE OF HORNWORK AT FORT ST. MICHAEL, NEAR BURGOS—MENTIONED FOR THE SECOND TIME BY LORD WELLINGTON IN PUBLIC DESPATCH—RETREAT OF THE ARMY FROM BURGOS—INVALIDED, AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE successful operations in the West Indies having entirely expelled the French from those islands, and there appearing therefore no further prospect of active service in that quarter, Colonel Campbell's energetic mind turned wistfully towards the stirring events then passing in the Peninsula. Accordingly, in the hope of being transferred to the seat of war there, he resigned his staff appointment, and returned to England at the end of 1810. It was not long before his wish was gratified. Proceeding to the Peninsula in the first instance merely as a volunteer, in April, 1811, he was appointed Colonel of the 16th Regiment of Portuguese Infantry. Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, to which this regiment belonged, was not placed in any division with British troops, but was invariably detached where the service was most active.

The regiment, under the command of Colonel Campbell, was employed in the blockade of Almeida (which formed

the left of the position during the battle of Fuentes d'Onore), the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and Burgos, and the battle of Salamanca. He received a medal for Ciudad Rodrigo with a clasp for Salamanca; and subsequently the gold cross for four general actions and sieges, including, besides the two former, Martinique and Guadaloupe. He considered himself likewise entitled to a medal for Fuentes d'Onore, in accordance with the following statements:

'My regiment was arduously employed in the blockade of Almeida, before and after the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, constantly exposed to cannonade and skirmishing, in which many men were killed and wounded. The blockade and attempted relief of Almeida by Massena caused the battle, and formed a part of it; and our brigade was the left of the line and of the position.' And again: 'The medal for Fuentes d'Onore cannot be intended for only those regiments which were engaged with the enemy in the village of Fuentes d'Onore, and to exclude others which were exposed to cannon and musketry against the same enemy, contending night and day for the same object, and forming the left of the position. Our patrols were undoubtedly in immediate connection with the division commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir William Erskine, for his line extended to Fort Conception, and our line of picquets crossed the road of Almeida, about a mile from the latter place towards the former.

'I do not believe this exclusion has been made on account of the escape of General Brennier and his garrison. The regiments composing General Pack's brigade were marched to two villages several miles distant at sunset the day before, by order of Lieutenant-General Alexander Campbell, who took possession at the same time (in his person and with the 36th Regiment) of our quarters, and of the position which our brigade had occupied for the week preceding.

'The men of our brigade, who composed the picquets where the enemy forced his passage, were bayonetted on the spot, and those who were in immediate contact followed him to the last.'[1]

In consequence of the battle of Fuentes d'Onore the French failed to relieve Almeida, the only place they retained in Portugal, and the garrison subsequently escaped. Colonel Campbell was left there with his regiment, while the rest of the army proceeded southwards to the Alentejo, with the exception of one brigade, which was stationed at Sabugal, fifty miles off.

From 'Almeida, May 20, 1811,' he writes as follows:

'Brennier deserves great credit for the attempt and execution of his retreat, as well as the perfect manner in which he destroyed everything here. However, had he not hit upon the very point of the circumference of picquets which he did, and had there not been a coincidence of errors, any one of those circumstances changed would have prevented his escape.

'My regiment is the only one quartered here. I am happy to think that the ruinous state of the works holds out no temptation to the French for retrograde operations. For in that case any defence on our part, however honourable, would scarcely reconcile me to a useless sacrifice of life, or at best to indefinite detention in France.

'However, we are perfectly quiet, for the whole of Massena's army is at Salamanca, and beyond it, excepting the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. Badajos is at present the active scene; and I confess my anxiety, knowing the difficulty of opposing a foe in the field, with an enemy's stronghold in the rear, and few points to pass the river.'

[1] Napier, *History of War in Peninsula*, vol. iii. book xii. chap. v. p. 156: 'On the 10th, at midnight, he sprang his mines, broke through the picquets in one column, and steered between the reserves with a nicety proving at once his coolness and previous observation. Pack followed him with a few men hastily collected, and plied him with fire,' &c.

Soon after, however—although in place of throwing a force into Almeida, the French under Marmont, who had in reality moved out of Ciudad Rodrigo, were at that moment on their march to the Alentejo—an alarm was raised that they were advancing. Almeida had become a great depôt of shops from Oporto, Lisbon, and Coimbra, through which goods of all sorts were rapidly sold to the army. The Militia had likewise been sent by the Government of the country, in order to repair the place temporarily, and the inhabitants looked to it as a place of security.

'On the afternoon of June 7,' writes Colonel Campbell, 'I received an order to join the brigade at Sabugal immediately, previously destroying five or six hundred barrels of gunpowder, and exploding six mines which had been prepared. This was of course to prevent the stores from being taken by the French, and to render the place useless to them. Had a small corps been left in front to feel the enemy in case of their advancing, all this would have been unnecessary, and the subsequent catastrophe avoided.

'Fancy my sending for the Juiz de Idra (chief magistrate) at four in the afternoon, to inform him of the orders I had received, and to desire him to quiet the people's minds: that they should remain in their houses, where no harm should happen to them from the mines; that the explosion was merely a precaution, and a measure unconnected with the movements of the armies! This, however eloquent, was unsatisfactory to those poor people. In a few minutes whole families, of all ages, began to move out with mules, asses, and horses, loaded with baggage, infants, and aged and infirm people, leaving behind them their property, and in many instances shops filled with goods. In half-an-hour there were about four hundred people and as many animals assembled outside the fort, where the regiment was under arms. I also sent for the Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia to tell him he might go where he pleased

with his working parties. Lieutenant Trench of the Engineers with eight men was left with me to destroy the mines. I gave him sixty picked men to assist. They carried out every barrel, knocked in their heads, and tumbled out their contents from a high bastion into the ditch, while Lieutenant Trench and I stood by them. He then informed me he was ready to proceed to set the slow matches to the mines. I told him I would go to the next bastion to make a signal to my Major to march off my regiment, and should return in five minutes to accompany him through the whole operations. I was waving my hand to the Major, not thirty yards from the bastion I had left, when a most dreadful explosion took place in that direction, which perfectly stupefied me, and covered me with smoke and dirt. I sallied over the parapet into the ditch, and got out at the gate of the fort, not knowing what it could possibly arise from. An instant after there came forth eleven poor fellows, with an appearance scarcely human. Their clothes torn into shreds like bits of tinder, their skin perfectly black except where it was hanging in pieces, and the blood issuing in streams. Some rolled on the ground, others danced or screamed in agony. The poor young man, Lieutenant Trench, was carried out by his men in the same state.[2]

'It appears that during my absence he discovered a box of grenades and small shells, from which he took the fusees, and then threw them into the ditch where the powder

[2] Jones, *Journal of Sieges in Spain*, vol. i. note 7: 'Several shafts, left in an unfinished state by the French, were by order of Sir Brent Spenser completed and exploded, when he marched with his corps to the Alentejo in the following month, and utterly demolished other considerable portions of the revêtement.

In the performance of this duty, Lieutenant Trench, the only officer of Engineers with the corps, was, from the awkwardness of the uninstructed soldiers employed under him, blown to pieces, and in consequence no report could ever be obtained of the details of the operation, or of the quantity of powder used, nor of the exact distances of the French shafts, or the precise manner in which they applied the powder.'

was. Falling from a considerable height upon stones, they of course emitted sparks. The whole of the powder blew up even to the bastion, where three barrels were standing without their heads, which Lieutenant Trench had reserved for the mines. I fancy he must have been stationed near them. I had him carried back into Almeida, and left with him his two servants, one of my assistant surgeons, and every possible necessary; but he died in two days. This unfortunate occurrence set the whole of the inhabitants and their baggage to flight, and their screams and cries, united to those of our poor men in rear of the regiment, were truly appalling, We had to march on half a mile to be out of the reach of the explosion of the mines, and then to dress these poor creatures, and place them in litters, though they could scarcely bear to be touched. It was now nearly sunset, but my orders for the explosion of the mines were still unexecuted. As the regiment had to march fifteen miles, I ordered them on, and returned to Almeida with the party of engineers. They were perfectly ignorant as to the mode of exploding the mines, and had very nearly blown up themselves and me. We exploded four, and left two undone, which were close to the gate. One of them being set fire to, we galloped out—as we thought, at the hazard of our lives —every instant expecting the explosion to take place over us.

'It was then dark. We had a dreadful night's march, with our poor men in the greatest agony. Three of them died in two days, and I suppose none will survive. So melancholy a service I never was engaged in, and hope never shall again. The poor young man, Lieutenant Trench, was at dinner with me when we received the order, and we proceeded to execute the service together instantly. Then to leave him in the bastion in perfect health and spirits, and five minutes after to see him carried out a dreadful object, with scarcely any traces of the same

person! After the place was destroyed, the subordinate general wished *he had not sent the order, as the French had retired!!*'

After joining the army at Sabugal, Colonel Campbell was again ordered back with his regiment to Fuchedas, in rear of Almeida, to defend the passes of the Coa, as a body of French, on their march from Salamanca to the Alentejo, had made a reconnaissance in that direction in order to deceive the British general.

A severe attack of fever followed, induced probably by the distressing scenes he had witnessed four days before, and by bodily fatigue during the subsequent march and counter-march.

'On the 11th,' writes Colonel Campbell, 'I was suddenly seized with a chilliness, and had scarcely strength to sit on my horse for the last league of the march to Fuchedas. On the 13th the regiment followed the army to the Alentejo, and left me insensible, in charge of three Portuguese surgeons. On recovering my faculties a week after, I found myself so weak as scarcely to be able to articulate, or to turn in my bed. Although it was not likely that the French would send any party twenty miles in advance from Ciudad Rodrigo, it was not pleasant to think that I was on the great road from that, and not a British or Portuguese soldier within fifty miles of me. I was carried in my bed, on peasants' shoulders, to Pinhel on the 20th. What I suffered in conveyance from thence to Coimbra is beyond description—a distance of more than 100 miles, part of it rough road, and no inns. I first tried a liteira. This is a very large sedan-chair, but instead of men, there is a mule before, and another behind, with the poles fixed on their sides. Conceive their unequal movements, sometimes at a slow trot, but generally a walk. The liteira, besides jolting up and down, possesses a motion backwards and forwards like a sedan-chair, but to a much greater extent. I had no

alternative but my horse, exposed to the sun, in very hot weather, and on white glaring roads. I was lifted out and in, off and on, twenty times, trying both conveyances in turn—obliged to go on, in order to reach some village where I could find shelter, perhaps ten or twelve miles off. Unable in my weak state to endure this suffering and fatigue for more than one day, my attendants hired a cart of the country, which is very clumsy, and mounted on two solid wooden wheels (the noise of which may be heard a mile off), and drawn by two oxen. Having then no bed, I was placed in it, lying at full length upon straw. I could have borne this had the roads been good, but when we came to some places, where the cart was jolted and thrown in all directions, I really felt sometimes as if I must give up. After two days' trial, I was obliged to discharge the cart, the motion was so violent. The rest of the journey I made on horseback at a walk; and so feeble was I, that I could not move two paces without a supporter. I generally managed to travel five miles in the morning, and again from two to seven in the afternoon and evening, frequently resting for twenty or thirty minutes under the shade of a tree, to slumber on my cloak. In most of the villages the houses were full of filth and vermin, and in many instances the French had burnt everything, down to the very doors and flooring, so that it was impossible to enter them. When this was the case, I generally went into the church for shelter.

'My attendants were numerous: my assistant-surgeon, a subaltern of my regiment, an orderly corporal, four servants and two of their wives, three riding and four baggage horses, an ass, and two goats. Whenever we came to a town or large village for our night halt, the civil magistrate gave us a billet on one of the principal inhabitants, who was thereby obliged to provide accommodation for myself, my servants and horses, as well as the use of kitchen and table utensils; and also a bed for me, with

clean linen and lights. If there is no commissary, the magistrate must likewise furnish rations of fresh beef and mutton, bread and wine. If the inhabitant on whom the billet is given be rich, he frequently sends in a dinner or supper. In the course of my journey this happened to me three or four times. On one occasion a widow lady was peculiarly courteous in this respect. She sent her servant to my subaltern, putting all she had in her house at our disposal, and apologising for her supplies not being better.

'The cause of her apology was as follows: When the French came to the village, she had left a servant with everything in charge, ordering him to offer them the use of her house, with a table provided for the commanding officer. Massena, with some fifty officers and attendants, occupied the house, eat her provisions, and drank her wine. Some of this party had discovered the place—within a plank in the roof of one of the rooms—where all her ready money was hid (she named the sum), and the poor lady's hoard was carried off. However, she was very grateful on finding that her house and furniture, offices and garden, had not been injured. And well she might, when the whole country (with a few such exceptions) was devastated.

'A Monsieur Pais, at whose house, half-way to Coimbra, I rested, was more fortunate. His was a princely house, handsomely furnished, with some good paintings, an extensive park, and everything in great style. He buried his chief stock of wine, and carried off his plate; but left an upper servant, an Italian, with a cook, and two or three others—the furniture as it stood, and a small quantity of wine. A letter addressed to Massena informed him of the articles placed at his disposal. Massena, in his advance, occupied the house with his whole staff, and ate and drank freely of its supplies, but nothing was ever injured.

'If you refer to the map, you will see that my route

from Pinhel lay by Vizen, on the right bank of the Mondego. About twenty-five miles from Coimbra I embarked in a boat, and reached it the same day, which was the 5th of July. This was a relief beyond description. From Coimbra I went by water to Figueira, at the mouth of the Mondego, and by the same mode, a few days after, to San Martinho, and thence to Caldas, where there is a hot chalybeate spring, and a very fine public establishment. Here upwards of 100 poor persons have access to the baths, are lodged in the hospitals, fed, and provided with medical attendance; and have also free admittance to the public gardens. It used to be much frequented by the nobility and gentry as a place of recreation at this season of the year, and even now there are several families here.'

Colonel Campbell finally arrived at Lisbon on July 21, by which time his health had so improved, that he was able within a few days to set out to rejoin his corps, which was stationed at Pena Macor, near Sabugal. The army had then gone into cantonments—one line being between the Guadiana and the Tagus—the other north of the Tagus, in and about Castello Branco, where Lord Wellington had his headquarters.

'The army,' Colonel Campbell reports on rejoining, 'is not healthy, and inconceivably diminished by invalids sent to the rear. When last in front of Marmont and Soult, between Elvas and Badajos, Lord Wellington had under 30,000 men, inclusive of waggon-train, and 21,000 Portuguese, while the enemy had 64,000.'[3]

No operations are recorded until more than a month afterwards, when Marmont, ably taking advantage of the comparative weakness of Wellington's force, collected a

[3] Napier, vol. iii. book xiv. ch. vi. p. 316: 'Although largely reinforced, the British had so many sick and wounded, that only 28,000 sabres and bayonets were in line; whereas the French had a fourth more of artillery and infantry, and twice as many cavalry.'

body of from 50,000 to 60,000 men out of all his garrisons, Placensia, Coria, Burgos, &c., for the purpose of escorting a convoy to Ciudad Rodrigo with provisions for four months. While Wellington, on the other hand, however anxious to prevent this supply being thrown in to the blockaded garrison, would not, as he said, risk his 'little army against double numbers, for an object on which the fate of Spain did not depend.' The enemy were 'double his number in infantry, and three times so in cavalry.'

The relief of Ciudad Rodrigo and the consequent affairs at El Bodon, &c., are thus described by Colonel Campbell:

'Beginning their march early in September, the French columns approached Ciudad Rodrigo by the middle of the month, and reached it on the 23rd, our detachments falling back. On the 25th the enemy attacked our right. They had lancers and hussars mixed, and infantry skirmishers to support them. We drew back leisurely to Fuente Guinaldo. Our right was then towards the sources of the Agueda and Coa, and our position crossed a line of hills which rise from Ciudad Rodrigo to Sabugal. This was occupied by the 3rd and 4th Divisions, and by our brigade. The 6th Division was on the left, in the low country, detached under General Graham; the Light Division did not cross a ford, and join on the right, until 3 p.m. on the 26th. During that day the French remained immediately under our view, little more than a mile off, and close to our advanced guard of cavalry. The fields were quite open, so that we could count every man, and we could see as many as five times our own little numbers. Lord Wellington sat all day on a height to the left, in the ditch of a field-work thrown up during the night, sometimes napping in the sun; and I fancy, if the enemy had seriously advanced, we must have scampered off, giving them some rounds of artillery. The Light Division, too, must have scrambled away as they could,

separated from us by a river and chain of hills. During the night we retreated to Alfyates, three leagues in rear of our former position. The French followed us close, and during the whole day of the 27th we had some fighting, principally near our brigade, at the village of Aldea de Ponte; but our Caçadores only were actually engaged, being advanced in front. On the night of the 27th, or rather early morning of the 28th, we retreated again to Sabugal, but the French drew back at the same time, and since then have marched off to Salamanca and Placensia as hard as they can.

'The army of Gallicia is becoming formidable, and the French are certainly hampered by the guerillas, and the difficulty of getting provisions except by force, as they have but little money. Both Spain and Portugal are so exhausted, that this war seems to be turning into a mere struggle for subsistence.'[4]

On Marmont's retiring, and there being no further apprehension of attack, Wellington and his army went into winter-quarters at the beginning of October. The Commander-in-Chief was at Freneda, on the right bank of the Coa; Pack's Brigade close by, at Azenhal, one league from Almeida.

Colonel Campbell writes from thence, on November 20:

'We are quite quiet, and will probably continue so for some months.'

That prediction, however, was destined to be soon rudely shaken. Within five days from the previous date, the army was again on the move—and Pack's Brigade with them—'expecting a convoy from Ciudad Rodrigo, which it was intended to intercept.' But as it did not

[4] This was Wellington's own view of the case. Despatch to Lord Liverpool, Sta. Marinha, March 23, 1811: 'We have already, in some degree, altered the nature of the war and of the French military system. They are now, in a great measure, on the defensive, and are carrying on a war of magazines.'

come, the troops returned to their winter cantonments, 'excepting the Light and Cole's Divisions and ourselves. We are rather nearer Ciudad Rodrigo than any of these (Colonel Campbell is writing from Espiga, December 10, 1811); in fact, only five miles from it. Our market is entirely supplied with cabbages brought from its immediate vicinity, and the peasantry go there and back at all hours of the day. The garrison do not venture beyond their guns. They are dissatisfied for want of pay and provisions, and many Italians desert.'

At this time it was supposed that General Pack would shortly be removed to a British brigade; and in expectation of this he had recommended Colonel Campbell to Marshal Beresford as successor to his present command. The change, however, did not take place, General Pack himself continuing to hold the appointment; and Colonel Campbell had consequently only the temporary command of the brigade during a brief period, when the brigadier was incapacitated by illness. While thus acting, he was led to form a most favourable estimate of the Portuguese soldiery composing the several corps.

'The next campaign will give us opportunities to show off the *Boys*, not a Spanish undisciplined collection of peasantry, but three good veteran regiments, completely equipped and disciplined, and acting in the most honourable situations of the Allied Army.'[5]

This favourable opinion was amply justified in the issue. The campaign of 1812 commenced at a very early period of the year. Invested on January 8, Ciudad Rodrigo capitulated on the 19th. For their part in the assault Colonel Campbell and his regiment received honourable mention in the several despatches of the Brigadier,

[5] Napier, *History of War in Peninsula*, vol. iv. book xviii. ch. i. p. 234: 'Whenever an officer formed under Moore obtained a regiment, whether British or Portuguese, that regiment was distinguished in the war for its discipline and enduring qualities.'

Pack,—the Divisional Commander, Sir Thomas Picton,—and the Commander-in-Chief himself.

Brigadier-General Pack to the Adjutant-General of the Portuguese Army.

[Translated from the Portuguese.]

'Convent of Caridad, January 20, 1812.

'I have the honour to transmit a return of the casualties during last night, and have the most sincere pleasure at the same time of communicating, for the information of His Excellency the Count of Transcoso, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army, the extreme good conduct of the regiments.

'This attack, agreeably to the general orders, was to have been a feint upon the exterior works of the gate of St. Yago; but His Excellency, Lord Wellington, was pleased afterwards to grant us some ladders, in case of opportunity. With these the walls were scaled, and we made prisoners of two officers, three sergeants, and seventy-five rank and file.

'The 16th Regiment, by its relative situation, was first directed to the point of attack, and from the gallant style with which it advanced, led by Colonel Campbell, I have felt it my duty to request that officer to recommend a sergeant for promotion, whose name I take the liberty of adding for the favourable consideration of His Excellency.'

Extract from General Orders, as issued by Lieutenant-General Picton, commanding the 5th Division, Army of Portugal.

'Ciudad Rodrigo, January 20, 1812.

'Lieutenant-General Picton avails himself of this opportunity of returning his best thanks to the whole of his division for the promptness, valour, and soldier-like

steadiness with which they mounted the breach and fausse-braye of the garrison last evening; and if anything could surpass his well-founded expectations of the troops under his command, it was the consummate judgment displayed by all the officers of his division. But the Lieutenant-General would be doing injustice to what he owes to such brilliant services, if he did not particularly mention the names of Colonel Neil Campbell, 16th Portuguese Regiment, &c.'

Extract from Lord Wellington's Public Despatch.

'Gallegos, January 20, 1812.

'The 1st Portuguese Regiment under Colonel Hill, and the 16th under Colonel Campbell, being Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the assault under the command of the Brigadier General.'

Although present throughout the siege of Badajos, commenced March 25, the 16th Regiment appears to have had no part in the actual assault, April 6. But in the succeeding operations of the year's compaign, including the battle of Salamanca, and long series of previous manœuvres, the subsequent march to Madrid, and the siege of Burgos, it was again prominent.

On June 13 the army moved forward from Ciudad Rodrigo and its vicinity, and entered Salamanca on the 17th, having crossed the river Tormes the same day in two columns. During that march, Pack's Brigade held the advance of General Picton's Division. On the 20th the army were collected in a position before Salamanca, facing southwards, and with their right on the Tormes. Marmont remained close in front for three days, then fell back some miles, and threw a few thousand men across the Tormes, who, however, returned the following day. On the 27th, the fortified Convent,[6] which had prevented the

[6] The works 'consisted of a fort formed out of the large convent of on the north-west of the city, St. Vicente, which stands in the

British from using the bridge of Salamanca, surrendered; and on the 29th they again advanced, Marmont retiring in his turn.

This was the first occasion on which Colonel Campbell had seen anything of the interior of Spain, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos being only frontier-towns; and accordingly his letters at this period contain some graphic sketches of Spanish scenery and character, as well as afford glimpses of the general condition of the country.

'Our operations have of late been very interesting, for every rock and tree on the frontier of Portugal had become familiar to us, and besides it presented nothing but desolate villages and misery-stricken inhabitants. From Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca the country is beautifully varied, with corn and pasture-land, wood, and water. The villages are uninjured; the people sturdy, healthy-looking, and well-clothed; the roads excellent; in fact, no traces whatever of the ravages of war. Beyond Salamanca, however, as far as the Douro, the whole scene changes. There is scarce a tree to be seen—very little water, except stagnant pools, now nearly dry from heat and exhalation—no pasture, the whole country being laid down in corn, which is just ripe for cutting, with large tracts of vineyards. As there are no stakes to allow the vines to run up, these do not present the relief of woods, but look like fields of enormous turnips planted in regular rows. No fences of stone or hedges mark the divisions anywhere. I did not see any *single* houses. The villages are generally large and important, almost like towns; and each placed in a bottom. Handsome steeples adorn the churches: within they are universally magnificent. The altars fill up one end with their ornaments of gilding, paintings, and velvet; in fact, whatever can look showy and gorgeous, heaped

centre of an angle of the old town wall, which is there very lofty and built on a perpendicular cliff over the river.' Jones, *Journal of Sieges in Spain*, vol. i. ch. viii.

together. The candlesticks, lustres, images, &c., which were formerly of gold and silver, are now only in imitation, of wood and tin, gilt and tinselled, the original having been all carried away three years ago by the French. Two villages which Marmont occupied under our noses near Salamanca were ransacked, like those in Portugal, without mercy; but, with this exception, nothing that we have seen shows any signs of the suffering or destruction incident to war. The produce of the country is so abundant, that the people have had plenty for themselves, as well as for the French and the Guerillas; and, besides, could well afford the money-contributions imposed upon them, having no other taxes to pay. They profess to be heartily sick of the French, and rejoiced to see us. At every village through which we pass, the whole population meet us with acclamations of "Viva Espagna ed Inghilterra," and bring out pitchers of water for our men. For some time, however, they appear to have made up their minds to submission, for want of an adequate army or generals, and a government to direct them. Now our cause looks well, if the Russian War continues.

'The French have lately been much distressed for magazines of bread, but now they have the means of support at hand, the corn being all ripe. However, the Guerillas annoy them exceedingly.'

It was about this time that Colonel Campbell, as senior officer, assumed the command of Pack's Brigade, the brigadier himself being confined to his bed with fever and ague.

From June 29 to July 2, when Marmont passed the Douro, the brigade was attached to the Light Division, and led with them the march of the army. The operations of the latter day are thus noticed by Colonel Campbell:

'I think that on July 2, when the bulk of Marmont's army crossed the Douro, we might have closed upon their rearguard, and inflicted on them great loss. The main

body of their cavalry got mixed up with the infantry, and were apparently in much confusion. The skirmishers of the cavalry being driven in on their reserves, ours were within fifty yards firing at them; but Lord Wellington would not allow the advantage to be followed up, though the Light Division and our brigade were close at hand. What a flattering scene, I fancied for a moment, was opening upon me at the head of 2,300 men! But, alas! not one opportunity of fighting was offered during my command of the brigade, and now General Pack is so much better as to propose returning at once to his post.

'Lord Wellington, I should suppose, is confident that he can ultimately gain his object by teasing and wearing them out,[7] and does not therefore wish to lose men, even while gaining some advantage by it, and inflicting greater loss on the enemy. For we might certainly have thrashed them at Salamanca, when they remained two and a half days before us; they in a flat, we on a hill, and scarce a stone or tree to interrupt us.'

Marmont did not continue his retreat beyond Tordesillas, and still occupied the bridge there across the Douro. Pack's Brigade thereupon drew back to Rueda, three miles to the south, from which latter place Colonel Campbell writes on July 7:

'Marmont is still at Tordesillas, with most of his army about it. The bridge is fortified and very defensible; but there is a ford at Pollos close by. The enemy have only one double vidette, 500 yards on this side of the bridge. Ours again is but twenty yards distance from them; and the men are very quietly sitting on their horses, looking at each other!

[7] Colonel Campbell had so far read correctly the mind of his chief. Despatch to Lord Liverpool, Sta. Marinha, March 23, 1811: 'I know that the contest is expensive, and affords no hope of success except by tiring out the French.'

'We have 5,000 Spaniards of Don Carlos and Don Julian with us. The Gallician Army under Santhoulides, 20,000 strong, is besieging Astorga; but I understand that Lord Wellington has requested them to move on and communicate with us, leaving the French garrison at that place, as well as those of Zamora and Toro, the only ones which remain in rear of our left flank; and General D'Urban with some Portuguese cavalry is hovering about the latter two places.'

The two armies remaining thus face to face with each other, a general engagement could not long be delayed. On July 22 was fought the great battle of Salamanca. Marmont was considered the most accomplished tactician of all the French marshals; and therefore Wellington's victory over him was proportionably enhanced in his own as well as in the world's estimation, following too, as it did, upon a long series of manœuvres, by means of which his adversary had endeavoured to circumvent and outwit him in every possible way. It was a proof of the peculiar pride felt by Wellington in this military achievement, that when the British Army was reviewed during the occupation of Paris in 1815, in honour of the Allied Sovereigns, the movements performed under his own immediate command were those of the battle of Salamanca.

A letter written by Colonel Campbell to one of his sisters, the day after the battle, runs as follows:

'To make up for my long silence, I hope to find favour in your sight by acquainting you that I am safe, after a most brilliant victory obtained by our glorious Chief over Marmont. Every one entertains feelings peculiar to himself in connection with his own profession and habits, which persons of other pursuits cannot enter into so easily. Now, I feel as if I had never lived as a soldier before this great day, and the recent interesting operations preceding it. Lord Wellington's dispositions were so grand and so sudden, that they presented to my imagi-

nation the idea of a lion turning round against a troop of tigers, from whom he had received snaps and insults while following his own majestic course.

'The enemy have lost 15 or 16 pieces of cannon, 3,000 or 4,000 killed and wounded, and from 6,000 to 8,000 prisoners. We have about 3,000 or 4,000 killed and wounded, as we formed under their tremendous cannonade. The battle was fought in front of Salamanca, which we covered, facing to the south. Marmont is said to have lost an arm. General Le Marchant of ours is killed, and among the wounded are Sir S. Cotton, Marshal Beresford, and Generals Cole and Leith.

It could not be ascertained until this morning what road the enemy had followed, after recrossing the Tormes in different places. It now appears they are pursuing that from Alba de Tormes to Penaranda in perfect disorder and consternation. If our provisions can be forwarded, or any obtained by the way, we shall make more prisoners. An army like ours, supplied by a commissariat upon system and payment, is in a very different position from one which plunders without mercy, and has therefore less chance in the pursuit of fugitives after the first day. Our policy, however, renders any imitation of the French impossible. They strip houses and fields, as they pass along, of every single article, and leave nothing behind for the poor inhabitants, tearing up the potatoes, peas, and corn (which last they grind in small hand-mills, which are carried on mules), and driving all the cattle before them. The road is strewed with dead French and quadrupeds, arms and drums, books, papers, &c. This defeat will damp their spirits, and strengthen ours, as well as revive the Spaniards; and a great portion of the enemy will likewise be so disorganised as to be incapable of acting for some time. If the Gallician Army, now between Valladolid and Burgos, as well as the Guerillas, are at all active, and if Drouet and Suchet do not speedily unite their forces with Marmont to back him,

it is not improbable that we may reach Madrid, or at any rate the passes of the Guadarama. An army (unless, indeed, it gives itself up to the vile abandoned habit of unjust contributions and general pillage, like the French), must be regulated in its movements by its supplies; and these are not easy to be obtained for a large force, where magazines have not been previously established. The inhabitants, too, require a little time to return from their hiding-places off the roads.'

Colonel Campbell narrowly escaped being wounded in the action, his military cloak, which was strapped in front of his saddle, having been completely riddled by a musket ball, which dropped at his feet while he was in the act of getting off his horse at the close of the day.

A more detailed account of the action, as given by him in another letter, while yet the whole scene was fresh and vivid in his mind, seems also worth relating:

'After the fall of the Convent at Salamanca, the enemy fell back towards Valladolid, and we followed, from June 29 to July 2, as far as Rueda. On the 15th we began to collect again from our different cantonments, in consequence of the enemy having drawn together every man within reach, excepting the garrisons of Valladolid, Zamora, and Toro. We manœuvred, gradually falling back upon our former position, in order to cover Salamanca, having that city in our rear, and the river Tormes on our right. From the 15th to the 21st we had constant skirmishing, and several times offered battle; but the enemy always manœuvred to our right, so that we were obliged to do the same, or else hazard our supplies and the city of Salamanca. On the 21st their army crossed the Tormes, between Alba de Tormes and Salamanca. We followed suit at other fords with nearly the whole of our army. On the 22nd we had some skirmishing in front of our left, our brigade being principally engaged; but this was merely a feint to attract our notice, while Marmont drew his troops principally

beyond our right, in rear of some heights, and took possession of a very steep rugged hillock. At one time Wellington ordered this to be taken by our brigade, but the enemy having reinforced it considerably, and seeming disposed for battle, the order was countermanded. They drew back their columns again, excepting from this height, and for some hours continued to move further beyond our right, occupying one hill after another with artillery and cavalry, and driving our cavalry before them. We felt furious at having our right menaced and manœuvred against in this way for seven days, and even expressions of surprise at Lord Wellington's seeming disposition for retreat beyond Salamanca were universal in the army. But this wonderful man had laid his plan for leading on his vaunting enemy to a distance, and to such a situation as would prevent him from escaping, except with great loss, and with a river to repass in his rear.

'However, during Marmont's successful manœuvres (as they then appeared) to our right, our columns were brought up to near the field of battle, and then, as if by magic, almost before we were aware of it, and to our surprise and joy, the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th divisions and the cavalry proceeded to the points directed for each, with more precision, regularity, and speed than in any of our sham-fights at Swinly Camp. In twenty minutes the whole appeared in order of battle, ranged in various lines, only two pieces of cannon and some skirmishers covering our front, while the enemy kept up a roar of great guns from the opposite heights for two miles in length, sent out clouds of skirmishers to some points, and began to form close bodies of infantry also. Meantime we remained on our first ground, rather retired and elevated, so that we could see the formations of the whole. There was not a tree to obstruct the view. The Light and 1st Divisions were in reserve behind us, to the left.

'About half an hour after the line advanced, our brigade

under General Pack[8] were ordered to attack the very strong height before mentioned. We got up close to the very summit, but the topmost cliffs were inaccessible, and the openings between them so warmly defended that we could not carry them. Our men turned, and suffered considerably in going back. How I wished at that moment for a British regiment! Although the Portuguese troops are wonderfully improved, their nature and previous corrupted habits will prevent their ever equalling our own fine fellows. It is the inferior material to be wielded, which makes the Portuguese service so laborious to the officers. However, at last we conquered all difficulties, and carried every height in succession, night alone preventing us from destroying the enemy's whole army.'

While part of the British forces went in pursuit of the beaten French across the Douro, the left division of the army marched to Madrid, and took possession of that city on August 12, King Joseph having abandoned his capital and fled southwards towards Toledo and Aranjuez.

'It is impossible,' says Wellington in his despatch announcing his entry, 'to describe the joy manifested by the inhabitants on our arrival.'

In a similar strain writes Colonel Campbell from thence, August 15, 1812:

'We carry on this campaign nobly. Since my last I have been at Valladolid and Segovia, and arrived here two days ago. This is the *third* night of illuminations, processions, Te Deums, proclamations, &c. The people exhibit

[8] Napier, *History of War in Peninsula*, vol. iv. book xviii. chap. iii. p. 271. 'That officer [Pack], having ascended the French Hermanito in one column, was within thirty paces of the top, and believed himself victorious, when suddenly the French reserves leaped forward from the rocks upon his front and left flank; there was a thick cloud of smoke, a shout, a stream of fire, and then the side of the hill was covered with the killed, the wounded, the flying Portuguese. They were scoffed at for the failure, but unjustly: no troops could have withstood that crash upon such steep ground; and the propriety of attacking the hill at all seems questionable.'

the most enthusiastic, nay frantic, joy. Men and women, of all ranks and ages, gather round us in the streets, and hug us at every step!

'The garrison of the Retiro surrendered yesterday, only, however, after the scaling ladders had been brought out, and three divisions were in position round them. 1,800 of the finest looking fellows possible became our prisoners, with 20,000 stand of arms, and immense stores, very useful to the Allied army.'

Wellington soon after found it necessary—for purposes of discipline to his troops, as well as with the design of sheltering them from the extreme summer-heat of Madrid, that burning centre of 'tawny Spain'—to remove a portion of the army from the capital, and, among others, Pack's Brigade was marched to the Escurial,[9] twenty miles off, under the shadow of the Guadarama. This position, on the direct road to the north and to France, appears to have suggested to Colonel Campbell the following remarks, contained in a letter dated Escurial, August 28, 1812:

'Persons at a distance cannot easily conceive how completely cowed most of the Spaniards were, from the terrifying examples which the French had made for the four previous years, in order to put down every act of resistance.

[9] In my Journal of Travel, June, 1853, I find the following notice of the Escurial:

'Bacon has well said (Essays, xlv. *Of Building*): "It is strange to see now in Europe such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them." For the rest of the interior seemed a perfect labyrinth of corridors and chambers and courts, and plunging into them, as it were, one soon loses all idea of locality. Marvellous to relate our guide was stone-blind! "Cornelio" forms not the least wonder of the place. If his instinct was at fault for a moment, he had only to touch the nearest wall with his stick, when he at once took up the cue, so to speak, and speeded on more briskly than ever. The old man told us, that he remembered well the occupation of the Escurial by a part of Wellington's army, and laughed grimly over the idea of "the soldiers without trowsers," as he called them—meaning of course the Highlanders.'

'All the principal towns and villages on the line of communication between Madrid and the French frontier, had a fortified church or convent occupied by troops, where they could defend themselves for a certain time against any number of peasants or guerillas unprovided with cannon. And if any act of violence was committed against a single French soldier, the whole population of the particular locality suffered by the infliction of increased contributions, the seizure of hostages, and the punishment of the principal inhabitants. But now, if the Russian War will give us time, not only to assemble but to establish an army and a government in this country, it will be a work of many years, even for Buonaparte's transcendent military and political genius, to subjugate Spain, and much more to wield its resources offensively against Great Britain.'

In consequence of the French Army of the North, now under Clausel, showing a disposition to resume offensive operations, Wellington was obliged to make a forward move in their direction; and accordingly quitted Madrid on September 1, gathering up his divisions as he went along. He came upon the enemy at Valladolid on the 7th, and they in turn retired towards Burgos; on reaching which, in the course of his pursuit, and finding them determined to hold their ground, he at once proceeded to the attack of that stronghold—with no favourable issue, as is well known.

From a memorandum by Colonel Campbell, under the head of Burgos, we quote as follows:

'Although the place was not taken, the service was very severe. I was constantly under fire during the first twenty-four hours of the siege, being employed in driving in the outposts on the first day. I also headed a column of assault, which succeeded in forcing its entry, and remained all night in command of the hornwork at Fort St. Michael, and of the trenches, to break ground, until relieved at 12 o'clock on the following day.'

Lord Wellington was pleased to notice this gallant and difficult service in his public despatch, dated 'Villa de Toro, near Burgos, September 21, 1812.'

'As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the 42nd Regiment, attacked and carried by assault the hornwork which the enemy had occupied in strength. In this operation Brigadier-General Pack, Lieutenant-Colonel Hill of the 1st Portuguese Regiment, and Colonel Campbell of the 16th, distinguished themselves.'

During this chequered campaign of 1812, the casualties among the officers of the 16th Regiment amounted to sixteen killed and wounded, being exactly one-half of the number present. On the army going into winter quarters Colonel Campbell, being invalided by a decision of a Medical Board, returned to England, where he arrived in January, 1813.

CHAPTER III.

[1813.]

APPOINTED TO LORD CATHCART'S STAFF—SAILS FROM HARWICH TO GOTTENBURGH—GENERAL HOPE'S MISSION—JOURNEY TO STOCKHOLM —INTERVIEWS WITH KING, QUEEN, AND CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN —VISIT TO MADAME DE STAËL—JOURNEY TO CARLSCRONA.

COLONEL CAMPBELL'S stay in England, after his return from the Peninsula, was but of short duration. In February, 1813, he received an appointment from H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, as Colonel on the Staff (in the room of the Earl of Tyrconnell, lately deceased), under the orders of General Viscount Cathcart, Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburgh.

It had been arranged between the Secretaries of State, that his lordship should accompany H.I.M. the Emperor of Russia with the Imperial Armies, both in his civil capacity as Ambassador and in his military quality as General, on the Staff in the continent of Europe. In the latter he was charged to receive reports upon the operations of the different corps from Colonel Sir Robert Wilson, Colonel Lowe,[1] and Colonel Campbell, who were to be severally attached to them, agreeably to a stipulation in a recent treaty between Great Britain and Russia.

Colonel Campbell accordingly sailed from Harwich on the night of the 4th March, 1813, and, after a very stormy passage, arrived at Gottenburgh on the 9th. There he fell in with General Hope, who had been sent to Stockholm for the purpose of arranging a treaty with Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, and was now on his return to

[1] Afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena.

England. It had been part of Colonel Campbell's instructions, that he should place himself at the disposal of that officer in case of need.

He writes from Gottenburgh, March 10, 1813:

'General Hope arrived here last night from Stockholm, and sails this forenoon for England in H.M. ship "Daphne," having concluded his mission, I hope and believe, successfully, from the universal sentiments of the people of the country, and of the Prince Royal, and the favourable impressions of both, which General Hope seems so cordially to feel. I go from this in a day or two to Stockholm, and from thence shall turn again south to Carlscrona, and proceed across to the coast of Prussia, according to the state of the navigation, and the particular place where Lord Cathcart may then be. He left St. Petersburgh some time ago for the head-quarters of the Imperial Army.

'I hope, as I pass through Stockholm, to send you some interesting accounts of Bernadotte, and the famous authoress, Madame de Staël, who is now there on a visit.

'Pray, however, keep in mind my strict injunctions—never to let any of my letters out of your hand, and never to communicate any public event on my authority, or before it has become known through other channels. You will recollect too my peculiar situation, whenever my letters appear uninteresting.'

The distance from Gottenburgh to Stockholm being 350 miles, there was at first some difficulty in providing a suitable conveyance, until by the lucky purchase of a barouche, which had been left behind by Prince Koslousky, the Russian Ambassador to Sardinia, on his embarkation for England, Colonel Campbell was able to post on without more delay, in company with two friends, their servants and luggage following in open carts.

'These carts,' he says, 'are admirably constructed, and in universal use by all classes, for no traveller is ever seen

on horseback. They are very narrow and long, with four small wheels, the two front ones being lower than the other pair. Along either side is a railing about a foot high. Upon the top a seat with back, sufficient for two persons, is lashed, and the remainder of the cart can be used for holding luggage. If there is no luggage, two of such seats can be fixed on either side railing, and then four persons can be conveyed. When the roads are covered with snow, the body is taken off the wheels, and placed upon a sledge. These carts travel quite as fast as our own carriage, which is about the pace of an English mailcoach.

'The mode in Sweden of getting horses for conveyance is upon a plan totally different from that in England. No person can obtain the necessary relays unless in possession of a passport. Ours was specially signed by the governor of the province at Gottenburgh, for the purposes of greater expedition and attention. There are post-houses under the order of Government at every stage, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles; the post-master keeps a record of the horses in possession of the farmers within several miles. Each of these in turn sends a servant with a cart and pair to the post-house, where they wait several hours; and if no traveller arrives during that limited period, they then return to their homes. If the travellers exceed the number of horses in waiting, the post-master is bound instantly to despatch a servant upon horseback to the farmer whose turn comes next, with a requisition for another pair. The post-master keeps a book, in which every traveller inserts his name and destination, and the number of horses employed by him. To this book are prefixed printed government regulations, stating the number of horses kept in and about each station, the expense per mile and per horse, the reciprocal duties of the post-master and travellers, &c. If the traveller has any complaint to make, he inserts the nature of it

after his name. The book is inspected monthly by some government officer. To ensure not being detained en route, a man with a horse and cart, and part of the baggage, is sent forward the preceding night, with a list of the stages which the traveller intends to pursue on the following day, and of the horses which will be required at each. These arrangements must be so fixed as that the traveller will not deviate more than two hours from the time warned by the "*forebode*"—as he is called in Swedish—otherwise he must pay waiting-money. Besides, the farmer's horses will probably have returned home, and one failure in point of time will affect all the succeeding stages for that day. Such is the honesty of the Swedes, that the traveller's baggage is passed on without loss or injury, although there is a new "*forebode*" at every stage. In the evening, when we arrived at our journey's end, our driver made out a list of the stages for the following day, specifying likewise the places where we intended to breakfast and dine; and we always found everything ready for ourselves and our servants.

'It is the custom here to gallop down the hills, and the horses are so accustomed to it, and so sure-footed, that they never fall. At one descent of considerable length, and exceedingly steep, we insisted upon walking, as the road was covered with ice, and we had to tie twigs round our feet to counteract the slipperiness. But our little animals—four abreast in our carriage, which was very heavy, and impossible for their strength to check—went off at a canter, and increased presently to a hard gallop, in a way that was truly wonderful.

'We generally travelled from six in the morning till dark, as from these specimens given us of the furious pace down hill, we thought it unnecessary to hazard the risk of breaking our bones by travelling at night. Besides, it would have been too severe for the servants, who were more exposed than ourselves. As it was, the cold was

more intense than I ever before experienced. The roads were excellent, and there was also a constant succession of the most picturesque scenery, mostly forests of fir, excepting small streaks of birch, interspersed with lakes, and broken at intervals by patches of meadow and cultivated ground. We passed only a very few seats, of better appearance than the common residences of the peasantry. The houses are entirely built of beams of fir-wood; and the roofs are of wooden shingles, arranged like slates or tiles, and the whole painted red. There are no fireplaces in the rooms; but as there are double windows of glass, closely fitted, and the seams filled up with cement, a very slight heat materially changes the temperature. This is given by lighting a few billets of dry fir within a stove, at different periods during the day. The stove soon becomes heated, and circulates the warmth through the rooms. During the winter months no fresh air ever enters a room, excepting while a door is being opened for a moment, never more, to admit persons. The consequence is, that all the rooms have a most unpleasant odour, and are quite suffocating from the heat. Hence, too, the natives suffer more from the cold than the strangers on the spot. No one ever goes out without a fur coat. These habits quite ruin the constitution among the better orders. The men are quite unable to face any rigorous weather, and are averse to expose themselves to it; while the women look sickly, and have bad complexions. The lower orders, however, seem robust and active.'

During this little tour through Sweden, the scenery and people appear to have constantly called up to Colonel Campbell's mind, memories of his early Highland home. The great lake Wener, which first came in sight near the town of Lidkoping, 'very much resembles Loch Lomond in breadth, at the point of view we had, though it greatly exceeds it in length; and there are no mountains to supply the variety and grandeur which our Scotch lake presents.'

The inhabitants too of the various towns and villages through which he passed—among them were Mariestad and Orebro—bore a marked resemblance in his eyes to the Highlanders of his native land, as well from the similarity of their personal appearance, being universally 'very fair, with small light eyes, and high cheek-bones, as from their language so nearly resembling the Gaelic. They seem (he continues) uncommonly obliging and good tempered, and very attentive in paying marks of outward respect to their superiors. The men always kept off their hats while we were passing them along the road—as did all the officials who examined our passports—and the women curtsied.'

. . . . . .

'Our little horses reminded us, by their size and sturdiness, of the small country *garrons* in the Highlands of Scotland.'

Arriving at Stockholm the 17th of March, Colonel Campbell received an official intimation that the King, Queen, and Crown Prince would honour him with private interviews before he proceeded farther on his journey.

These receptions are best described in his own words:

'On the 18th I dined with the British Minister, Mr. Thornton; the next evening with the Portuguese Minister, and afterwards went to the Opera. On Sunday, accompanied by Mr. Thornton, I was introduced to the King, Queen, and Prince Royal respectively, and conversed some time with each, dining afterwards with the Prince Royal.

'The King is a very feeble old man, little of stature, and infirm beyond his years, in consequence of paralytic strokes. When he rose from his chair to receive us, as the door opened, he had not strength to raise himself erect, and an officer from behind was obliged to hold him up. He continued standing, while conversing with Mr. Thornton

upon the politics of the day, the various intelligences received as to the advance of the Russians and the late treaty. Then advancing with difficulty two or three paces, leaning upon his cane, he put to me several questions—his articulation being low, and thick, and laboured—as to the period of my departure from the Peninsula, the state of England, and my intended route to join Lord Cathcart.

'No person was in the room, with the exception of Mr. Thornton and the officer in attendance.

'We next proceeded to pay our respects to the Queen, and were first ushered into a room, where were assembled several noblemen and officers of the household. Two huge doors were then thrown open, admitting us to an interior apartment, upon which from fifteen to twenty middle-aged ladies fell back to the right and left, leaving one of their party, who was the Queen, to advance towards us with a very courteous address. Approaching quite close, she kept us in conversation for a quarter of an hour in French. The same subjects were introduced as with the King, but she was much more pointed in her questions, and very sensible. She said she was particularly interested in all the members of the Prussian Royal Family, as they were her relations, and she knew them well. She spoke of the Treaty of Westphalia, and the time it lasted; and then turning towards me, she asked particularly as to our King's state of health, whether he was sometimes better, and whether the Queen associated with him constantly, or was only allowed to pay him occasional visits, &c. At length she made a bow as our signal, and we retired.

'Upon going to the Prince Royal's apartments, Mr. Thornton alone was ushered in. He came out in a few minutes, and told me that he had found the Prince sitting up in bed, surrounded by papers, and that we were to return again about 3 P.M. for a formal interview, and

afterwards at 5 o'clock for dinner. The Prince has been so occupied with affairs of state for the last two or three months, that he sits up a great part of the night; and in the morning again, fresh communications so press upon him, that he is often detained from dressing for several hours.

'At 3 o'clock, according to appointment, Mr. Thornton and I were introduced to the Prince's apartments. There was a large[2] map upon a table, extended over some books and papers. In a minute or so the Prince came forward from an adjoining room, with a very pleasing air and courteous manner, and returned our profound bows with great politeness, but with no affectation of stiffness or state. He first asked Mr. Thornton how he was, and then, immediately turning to me, introduced the subject of Spain. He spoke of the "glorious" battle of Salamanca, in which he understood I had been engaged; said that Lord Wellington emulated our other great general in former times, Marlborough, and that his operations in the Peninsula had covered him with wreaths of laurel. He then entered minutely into the nature of the defences at Burgos, and our system of attack; and asked what was the character of Pancorvo, the only stronghold between that and the Ebro. He inquired as to the number of British, Spanish, and Portuguese troops under Lord Wellington in that part of Spain, and the possibility of blockading Burgos and Pancorvo with one portion of the army beyond the Ebro, while giving the chief attention to Soult south of the Tagus. After comparing our strength at the former point with that of the enemy, and making a rapid arithmetical calculation of numbers, he wound up the whole by observing, "Eh bien, mon Colonel, Lord Wellington ne pouvait pas bloquer ces endroits, il n'avait pas la force nécessaire; il était donc

[2] Lord Londonderry, *War in Germany*, ch. vi. p. 88. 'His Royal Highness produced, as usual, his map.'

parfaitement justifié dans sa retraite; il a fait comme un sage général."[3]

'After ten minutes' further conversation with Mr. Thornton on topics connected with General Hope's mission, he reminded us of our engagement to dinner at 5 o'clock, and we took our leave.

'The Prince is about 5ft. 11in. in height, active and well made, with a handsome figure. His complexion is very dark, with small black eyes and black hair, quite Spaniard-like. Indeed he reckons himself half a Spaniard, being from the part of France adjoining Spain. He is very popular here, as he evinces in every way a desire to become a perfect Swede. His son, who is about thirteen or fourteen, speaks and reads and writes the language like a native. French, however, is generally spoken in the better circles.

'I may mention that the report signed "Engestron," describing the political relations of Sweden for the last three years, and Monsieur Cabré's dismissal, which appeared in the London papers of February last, was written by Bernadotte himself.

'At 5 o'clock, the appointed hour for dinner, Mr. Thornton and myself returned to the Prince Royal's apartments.

'We found the Russian and Spanish Ministers, and several Swedish officers, assembled in a waiting-room. Soon afterwards the young Prince, dressed in a jacket and pantaloons of light blue, the uniform of the Light Cavalry of the Guard, and accompanied by his tutor and governor, passed through, returning again in a few minutes in company with his father, who carried his hat in his hand. He wore the same dress as in the morning, viz. the uniform of a Swedish general, with white pantaloons and long boots with yellow spurs.

[3] 'Well, well, Colonel, Lord Wellington could not blockade those places, he had not sufficient strength; he was therefore perfectly justified in retreating; he has acted like a wise general.'

'The company immediately fell back, ranging themselves round the room. The Prince then entered into conversation with General Suchelin, the Russian Minister, and Mr. Thornton. On dinner being announced, we all followed to the next room. The Russian and English Ministers sat right and left of the Prince. My place was next the Russian Minister, the Spanish Minister's next Mr. Thornton, the young Prince sat opposite to his father. There was very little conversation during dinner, and even that carried on in a low tone of voice. The Prince spoke only to those on either side of him.

'After dinner, which was soon over, we all returned to the waiting-room, following the Prince, and again ranged ourselves round it. He himself stood at the door, in order to receive some twelve or fifteen officers of rank, who came in to pay their respects, merely bowing and passing on. The Prince then commenced a conversation with the person nearest to him, and proceeded regularly round the whole circle, stopping a few minutes to talk to each individual.

'Sunday is a gala-day in Sweden, and is the only occasion when the young Prince dines in public. While his father was making the tour of the circle, he approached quietly from behind, and touched him. The Prince Royal, on perceiving him, immediately put his two hands on his cheeks and kissed him. The young Prince then bowed to the company, and retired with his tutor, his father continuing his round.

'When he came up to me, he asked me several questions as to the apparent feelings of the Spanish people; and upon my praising them for their patriotism, seemed to take the compliment as paid to countrymen of his own. When I adverted to the difficulties under which the nation laboured from want of officers, with the Regency and Cortes shut up in Cadiz, he descanted upon the inefficiency of a legislative apart from an executive government. Then

he spoke of Wellington as a leader, that the Spaniards surely could not feel any jealousy towards him, from fear of his taking the entire power of the Government into his own hands; that it might be otherwise with one of their own grandees, but that Lord Wellington would no doubt be well pleased to return to his own country, there to enjoy his well-earned honours and fortune. I assented to this, but could not help feeling that the tone in which he made these assertions, implied a lingering doubt in his own mind as to their exact truth. Adverting next to Madame de Staël, and her intention of going to England,[4] he said he was afraid she would not enjoy there all the pleasure she expected; for that in our country women were considered out of their sphere when they meddled with politics. "When do you go?" he then asked. "Remember me to Lord Cathcart. Bon voyage, Colonel." And with a very kind smile passed on. After completing the circle, the Prince gave a general bow and retired to his own apartments.'

It was now more than two years since Bernadotte, having been elected by the free voice of the Swedish people, had made his first public entry into Stockholm on November 1, 1810, and occupied the position of Crown Prince.

[4] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 258. October, 1867, Art. V. 'Miss Edgeworth, her Life and Writings,' p. 487.

Miss Edgeworth took down from the Duchess of Wellington's own lips a dialogue between herself and Madame de Staël on a remarkable occasion. The Duchess had purposely avoided making the acquaintance of Madame de Staël in England, not knowing how she might be received by the Bourbons after the Restoration. Finding, on her arrival at Paris, that 'Corinne' was well received, she invited her to her first assembly. She came, and walking up straight to the Duchess with flashing eyes, began:

'Eh! madame la duchesse, vous ne vouliez pas donc faire ma connaissance en Angleterre?'

'Non, madame, je ne le voulais pas.'

'Eh! comment, madame? Pourquoi donc?'

'C'est que je vous craignais, madame.'

'Vous me craignez, madame la duchesse?'

'Non, madame, je ne vous crains plus.'

Madame de Staël threw her arms round her: 'Ah! je vous adore.'

In consequence of the infirmities of the reigning King, Charles XIII., as just described by Colonel Campbell, after his interview with H. M., the whole burden of government had devolved upon Bernadotte, and his situation in the present state of European affairs had been for some time sufficiently embarrassing. Although owing his rise and subsequent success entirely to Napoleon's favour—for he was born at Pau, but of humble parents, in 1764—and was made marshal of the Empire in 1804, and Prince of Pontecorvo in 1806—he had now chiefly to consider the interests of his adopted country; and these certainly for the moment did not square with those of his old master, who had besides, since his elevation, treated him with suspicion and contumely. However, his first overt act of opposition to Napoleon was not taken till March 3, 1812, when, after meeting favourably the advances of England, as expressed through General Hope's mission, he signed the treaty of Stockholm, and engaged himself, on payment of a British subsidy, to employ a body of 30,000 Swedes, in concert with the Allied armies of Russia and Prussia then assembling in Germany. In a letter written from Carlscrona, when he was on the point of leaving the country, and was therefore better able, after a short experience of its politics, to estimate the difficult position in which Bernadotte had been placed throughout the recent negotiations, Colonel Campbell notes as very important, in evidence of the loyalty of the Crown Prince towards his new Allies, the fact that 'a part of the Swedish troops have already occupied Pomerania, and more are collecting daily to reinforce them as soon as the ships return.'

He had already become very popular by identifying himself in every way with Sweden and its institutions, and this new stroke of policy was accepted throughout the country with universal acclamations. As Colonel Campbell remarked, 'the Swedish people were acquiring new animation and intelligence from the Crown Prince and his

measures.' Although previously favourable to Napoleon's cause—in whose interest, as they fancied at the time, they had elected Bernadotte as their Crown Prince and eventual successor to the throne of their childless King,—the Swedes had now caught some sparks of the anti-Gallic enthusiasm, which was so rapidly spreading through Germany and the whole North of Europe.

'I have just read,' Colonel Campbell writes, 'an extract from a Hamburg paper, describing the joy of the inhabitants there on the entrance of the Russians into their city on the 18th ult.[5] Their enthusiastic exultations appear to have even exceeded, if that is possible, those of the Spaniards on our entering Madrid last year.'

The determination of Bernadotte to devote himself, cost what it might, to his new country, had likewise been shown in relation to his wife. The daughter of M. Clary, a merchant of Marseilles, she was also sister of King Joseph's Queen, and had herself in early life been the object of Napoleon's addresses. Soon after her arrival at Stockholm, she found herself not very pleasantly situated in regard to the female noblesse; principally, it was thought,

[5] Alison's *History*, ch. lxix. vol. ix. pp. 170, 171: 'On the 18th, Tetterborn, at the head of the advanced guard of his indefatigable Cossacks, approached the town amidst the acclamations and astonishment of a countless multitude of spectators. About half a mile from the city the Russian videttes were met by the greater part of the citizens in a body, who filled all the houses, gardens, fields, and lanes around. A tremendous hurrah accompanied their progress through the dense array, while the Cossacks sang their merry national airs. At the gate of the city, the magistrates appeared with its keys, while thirty maidens, clothed in white, strewed wreaths of flowers before the victors. Shouts of unbounded acclamation now rose from the countless multitude: the enthusiasm was such, that the very heavens seemed to be rent asunder by the sound. 'Long live the Russians! Long live Alexander! Long live Old England!' burst from tens of thousands of voices; the old steeples trembled with the acclamations; the roar of artillery, and the loud clang of bells, gave vent in louder notes to the universal transports; numbers wept for joy; friends and strangers alike embraced and wished each other joy to have lived to see such a day.'

through the influence of a French lady who had accompanied her, and was not considered sufficiently conciliatory. These disagreements on points of etiquette became at last so pronounced, that the Crown Princess and her *confidante* returned to France. But, notwithstanding this matrimonial separation, Bernadotte still retained his son in Sweden.

During his short stay at Stockholm, Colonel Campbell paid a visit to Madame de Staël who was residing there, and was thus able, according to a wish expressed in a former letter, to send his sister a full account of the celebrated authoress of 'Corinne:'

'I have just returned from spending three-quarters of an hour with Madame de Staël. The Secretary of Legation, Mr. Douglas, introduced my friends, Mr. Macdonald (Kinnear) and Dr. Neil Maxwell, and myself. She was sitting near a table in company with M. Schlegel, who is a German literary character, and acts in the capacity of companion and tutor to her daughter, and two other gentlemen. She received us very kindly, and spoke for a minute or two to each in turn. Then taking a place in the centre of the sofa, her daughter having entered the room just before, and been introduced to me, she asked me to sit next to her on the left, while her daughter occupied the seat on the right. She then conversed freely with each of us, as well as with three or four other persons who entered at intervals. Among the latter was her son, an officer in the Swedish army, and Count Fernonay, a French *emigré*, despatched from England by the French Princes upon a mission to St. Petersburgh.

'It is impossible to describe the variety and readiness of her conversation, delivered too with ease and mildness, free from all affectation or interruption to others. She asked where we were from, and where we were going; whether I was a relation of Lady Charlotte Campbell; whether I ever wore the kilt, and whether it was still worn generally

in Scotland; whether I was of opinion that Ossian's original poem had ever existed. To Dr. Maxwell she spoke of the extraordinary sickness at Dantzic and in the armies. To Mr. Macdonald she mentioned Constantinople, and expressed regret at never having visited it; said that she was writing a poem describing Richard Cœur de Lion and his Crusades; that she intended to introduce the Magna Charta of England, but in place of its being extorted from his successor John, she proposed to describe it as a dying grant of Richard. She asked us if we were acquainted with Scott or Thomas Campbell, quoting at the same time passages from their poems which she admired, particularly parts of "Marmion;" the description of the tombs of Pitt and Fox in Westminster Abbey, close to each other. Had read Fox's history. Had a great desire to become acquainted with Sir James Mackintosh in consequence of his eloquent defence of Peltier,[4] and had been told that he was very amiable in society and conversation. Thomas Campbell had written to her concerning a translation of the work she had written in Germany, when exiled by Bonaparte; spoke of his boundless ambition, calculating the number of lives sacrificed by him, and that he never was in so critical a situation as now. Still, although greatly lowered, he had vast resources, and would not fail to exert them. Mentioned her intention of going to England, but feared there were risks of capture in the passage, and this would entail serious consequences on her. The expenses of living

[4] 'M. Peltier's trial now took place. M. Peltier was an emigré, whom the neighbouring revolution had driven to our shores. He carried on a French journal, which, finding its way to the Continent, excited the remarkable susceptibility of the First Consul. This was just after the Peace of Amiens. Urged on by the French Government, our own undertook the prosecution of Peltier's paper. The occasion was an ode, in which the apotheosis of Bonaparte was referred to, and his assassination pretty plainly advocated. Sir J. Mackintosh's speech was translated by Madame de Staël, and read with admiration not only in England, but on the Continent.' *Historical Characters*, Sir H. L. Bulwer. Mackintosh, vol. ii.

and travelling in England were great; she hoped, however, to reach it in May or June. I offered my services in forwarding any communication to Admiral Morris or Captain Acklom at Carlscrona, and said that as men-of-war were often going from thence to England, I was persuaded there would be no difficulty in providing a passage for her. She spoke of the war with America, and regretted that Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning were no longer in the Ministry. The name of Lucien Bonaparte occurred. When I told her he intended to publish a poem, she said he had no talents for poetry, but he could interest and instruct by giving anecdotes of his brother, and relating circumstances particularly known to him. She spoke in complimentary terms of the English language, and compared it with the French; quoted a joke of the Prince de Ligne, that French was the only language in the world before the Tower of Babel. The "Edinburgh Review" had reviewed her novel of "Corinne;" did not know who was the editor, but understood it was Mr. Playfair; it was not a difficult labour to criticise and condemn, as shown by the criticisms on Scott's poetry and the remarks on Roderic Dhu. She repeated a few words from Horace, and pointed out the peculiar pronunciation of Latin by the English, so different from the Scotch. In reference to the last campaign in the Peninsula, she thought it strange Lord Wellington should have remained so long before Burgos, if not adequately provided for the siege. She asked me if I thought the French would be able to hold Madrid long. She had never seen any of Lord Byron's poety, but understood it was immoral; regretted this, for morality was necessary for true sentiment and poetry, and England was the country and sect of morality.

'On Mr. Macdonald mentioning his difficulty in obtaining a passport from the Austrian ambassador, from not being known to him, she immediately insisted on writing a letter of introduction. Her son brought her a small writing-

desk; she placed it on her knee, and, without any interruption to the general conversation, wrote a note. When it was finished, she said, "Now my daughter will do the rest," and passed it to her. She sealed and addressed it, while the son removed the bureau. She then invited me to dine with her on the third day from this, stating that she was engaged to the Prince Royal to-morrow, and somewhere else on the following day. It was with great regret I was obliged to decline on account of the shortness of my stay.

'Although I entered Madame de Staël's presence with a considerable degree of diffidence, this soon wore off from her perfect ease and simplicity, and the charming amiability of her manner. She speaks English almost as readily and correctly as a native, only with a slight foreign accent. Her daughter also speaks the language well. Madame de Staël appears about fifty. She is of middle size, and looks strong and vigorous. Her features are large and massive, the upper row of teeth projecting, her eyes dark, and eyebrows strongly marked. She wore a dark-green silk pelisse. Her daughter[7] is about seventeen; her manners are mild and unaffected, but rather reserved, and her countenance is not so marked or expressive as that of her mother. She is fair, with auburn hair; and she was attired simply, in a cotton dress.

'As this extraordinary woman will no doubt be received with great interest and attention in England, I am in hopes that this hasty sketch will not be unacceptable to you!'

The daughter of Neckar—who, although a Swiss by birth, had been Finance Minister in France during a portion of Louis the XVIth's troubled reign—Madame de Staël had become obnoxious to Napoleon on account of some political writings and anti-imperial sentiments; which, full-

[7] Afterwards Duchesse de Broglie.

seasoned as they were with wit and sarcasm, had gone the round of the congenial salons of Paris. 'Seated on the throne of Charlemagne,' it had been well said, the French Emperor 'was afraid of a woman's tongue!' Being accordingly exiled from France,[8] she first took refuge at Vienna, where she wrote 'De l'Allemagne'—a work she herself referred to, as has been seen, in her conversation with Colonel Campbell. From thence, in order to be as far as possible out of the reach of French espionage, she proceeded on to St. Petersburg. Subsequently—her husband having been Swedish Minister at Paris, and she herself being an ardent admirer of the Crown Prince, both personally and politically—she took up her residence at Stockholm. There, under her auspices, her friend, Mons. Schlegel, published in French a pamphlet entitled, 'Sur le Système continental et sur ses rapports avec la Suède.' This contained many allusions complimentary to the Crown Prince as well as to England, and vigorously de-

[8] See *Edinburgh Review*, No. 258, October, 1867; Art. I. 'The Napoleon Correspondence,' pp. 329, 330: 'I am told, Citizen Minister, that Madame de Staël has arrived at Muffliers, near Beaumont-sur-Oise. Let her know through some of her friends, and without any fuss, that if on the 15th Vendemiaire she is still to be found there, she will be conducted to the frontier by the gendarmerie. The arrival of that woman, like that of a bird of ill-omen, has always been the signal of some disturbance. My intention is that she should not remain in France.

'*To Regnier, Minister of Justice,*
'*October 3rd*, 1803.'

. . . . . .

P. 331. 'In a letter addressed to Cambacérès and written from head-quarters at Osterode shortly after the disastrous battle of Eylau, with the armies of Russia and Prussia arrayed against him, the Emperor recurs to his petty persecutions against a woman:—

'"J'ai écrit au Ministre de la Police de renvoyer Madame de Staël à Genève, en lui laissant la liberté d'aller à l'étranger tant qu'elle voudra. Cette femme continue son métier d'intrigante. Elle s'est approchée de Paris, malgré mes ordres. C'est une véritable peste. Mon intention est que vous en parliez sérieusement au Ministre, car je me verrais forcé de la faire enlever par la gendarmerie. Ayez aussi l'œil sur Benjamin Constant, et, à la moindre chose dont il se mêlera, je l'enverrai à Brunswick, chez sa femme. Je ne veux rien souffrir de cette clique; je ne veux point qu'ils fassent des prosélytes."'

nounced Bonaparte's aggressions and insatiable ambition. So far as English society was concerned, Madame de Staël was now in the zenith of her literary fame. Her novel of 'Corinne' had achieved an extraordinary success among the educated classes of Great Britain, and her proposed visit to England had been eagerly anticipated and discussed. As is well known, her intention was carried out in the following year, and she thereupon became the Lionne of the fashionable and literary world.

Lord Byron's Letters and Memoranda contain various notices of her; some complimentary, as 'I have her books —like most of them, and delight in the last.' In explanation of the passage in the 'Bride of Abydos,'

> 'The mind, the music, breathing from her face,

he added a note, referring to Madame de Staël's 'De l'Allemagne,' and speaking of her as 'the first writer of this, perhaps of any, age.'

Others, however, of his remarks upon her were tinged with his usual tone of sarcasm—and of coarseness, it must, in truth, be added.

From Lord Byron's Memoranda, too, we gather incidentally, that the wish which Madame de Staël had expressed to Colonel Campbell, of becoming acquainted with Sir James Mackintosh, was gratified. It was at his house that Lord Byron witnessed Curran's introduction to her.

The son mentioned as present during the interview above described, was afterwards killed in a duel. One is almost ashamed to quote Byron's unfeeling words upon the subject: 'Madame de Staël Holstein has lost one of her young barons, who has been carbonaded by a vile Teutonic adjutant—kilt and killed in a coffee-house at Scrawsenhausen. Corinne is, of course, what all mothers must be; but will, I venture to prophesy, do what few mothers could do—write an essay upon it!'

Colonel Campbell left Stockholm on March 23rd,

'having been extremely interested,' as he wrote, 'by his tour through Sweden, and short visit to its capital. Stockholm is built upon thirteen islands proverbially, but chiefly upon the mainland and two of the larger islands. Upon the centre island is the palace.

'The road from Stockholm to Carlscrona, particularly the first half, is still more picturesque than that from Gottenburgh. The only manufactories I saw en route were a foundry for cannon and a glasshouse, neither of them upon a large scale. About half-way the site of some mines was pointed out to us, with a considerable establishment of iron-works in connection with them. The distance from Stockholm to Carlscrona is 350 miles, the road passing through the towns of Nykoping, Norkoping, Lynkoping, and Elksho. I arrived at Carlscrona on March 28.'

CHAPTER IV.

[1813.]

JOURNEY FROM CARLSCRONA TO KALISCH—JOINS LORD CATHCART'S STAFF—EMPEROR ALEXANDER, GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE, AND PLATOFF—PARADE OF RUSSIAN GUARDS—PROGRESS OF IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS FROM KALISCH TO DRESDEN—PRESENTED TO EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AND KING OF PRUSSIA—ADVANCE OF ALLIED ARMY THROUGH SAXONY—JOINS WITTGENSTEIN—BATTLE OF LUTZEN—INCIDENTS OF RETREAT THROUGH DRESDEN AND ACROSS THE ELBE—BATTLE OF BAUTZEN—DISTANT VIEW OF NAPOLEON AND STAFF—ARMISTICE—NEWS OF BATTLE OF VITTORIA—COMPARISON OF NAPOLEON AND WELLINGTON.

CAPTAIN ACKLOM, the Commodore of the Baltic squadron, had left a gun-boat, the 'Earnest,' to await Colonel Campbell's arrival at Carlscrona. Sailing from that on March 30, he was landed the next day at Colberg in Prussian Pomerania. There one of his fellow travellers, Mr. Macdonald, who was bound for Berlin en route to the East, separated from him; while he himself, in company with Dr. Neil Maxwell, proceeded direct to Kalisch in Poland, where Lord Cathcart had now arrived in attendance upon the Imperial headquarters.

We continue Colonel Campbell's diary of progress:

'At Colberg I purchased a travelling-carriage from the French Consul, and hired his servant, a Prussian, who had been in England, and did not wish to accompany his master to France. Strange enough that facilities for the fulfilment of my mission should be provided by an agent of the French Government!

'Upon the afternoon of April 1, I left Colberg, my friend and myself inside the carriage, the two servants on the dickey, and the baggage tied outside. The post-horses

are small; we had four, and these were changed at every post-house. The driver sits upon the near wheel-horse, and guides the two leaders by means of his reins and whip. He carries a small trumpet bugle, which he sounds, not very musically, when any impediment appears on the road, and while brought to a halt outside the barrier-gate of any town, until the sentry calls out the sergeant of the guard to inspect the passports.

'We arrived at Kalisch nearly at midnight on the 4th, having rested only part of one night at Posen, on account of the servants, as it rained heavily. We travelled by Stargard, crossing the Netze river at Driesen, and the Wartha at Zirke. These two rivers unite at Custrin, and form the Oder. At Posen we passed the Wartha again, and a third time at Peisern. Thence two stages to Kalisch. This is a large town, the capital of one of the Polish provinces. In front of it there was lately an action, which lasted for nearly a day, between the Russian advance and a force of Saxons under General Regnier.

'Poland is very flat, and the soil in general light and sandy, growing nothing but fir-trees in some parts, but in others extremely productive, and laid down entirely in corn. In some of the towns and villages the greater portion of the inhabitants are Jews, employed in peddling of all sorts. For the last three months they have had an extensive field of operations, purchasing from the Russian army their booty, from a gold watch or piece of church-plate to an old stocking!

'Kalisch was so occupied with troops, in addition to the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia being there with their respective suites, that my friend and myself could find no sort of accommodation for the night, and had to lie down in our cloaks in an outer room of Lord Cathcart's quarters.'

Lord Cathcart, whose staff Colonel Campbell now joined

for the first time, had been appointed ambassador at St. Petersburgh on the rupture of that court with Napoleon, and continued in this position during the invasion of Russia. When, upon the French retreat, the Emperor Alexander himself took the field, and crossed the Vistula with the Russian Army, his lordship was directed by the British Government to accompany the Imperial head-quarters, and to report upon the military operations, receiving at the same time the rank of a general on the continent of Europe. His first prominent service had been at the capture of Copenhagen in 1807, when the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, served as second in command. The young Earl of Tyrconnell had been one of the attachés of the Embassy at St. Petersburgh, but, carried away by a spirit of adventure and romantic enthusiasm, he had joined Admiral Tchichagoff's corps of the Russian Army as a volunteer, and died at Wilna in the previous December from cold and excessive fatigue, while engaged in the pursuit of the French. It was to this young nobleman's destined place upon the staff, and under the orders of Lord Cathcart, that Colonel Campbell now succeeded.

The Imperial headquarters had arrived at[1] Kalisch, at the beginning of February, 1813; and there, after some secret negotiations in which Hardenberg, the Prussian Minister, was the prime mover on the one side, and Alexander himself on the other, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia was signed March 1. On the fifteenth, the two

[1] Prince Leopold left Breslau for Kalisch in Poland, where the Emperor Alexander had his head-quarters. He was the first German Prince who joined the liberating army. On the demand of the Grand Duke Constantine, his brother-in-law, who commanded the Guards, he was attached to his staff. The Emperor having received the rank of Major-General, he found himself one of the older generals. *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 381. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

sovereigns met at Breslau, for the first time since the peace of Tilsit in 1807, afterwards returning in company to Kalisch.[2]

'Yesterday, being the morning after my arrival,' writes Colonel Campbell, 'April 6, Kalisch (upon the river Prosna, fifty-five miles from Posen), I saw the King of Prussia set out for Berlin, accompanied by Hardenberg and others, the suite occupying several carriages. The Imperial head-quarters march from here to-morrow in an easterly direction. The Russians continue to advance from the Vistula, not merely with Cossacks, but in great force, sending forward new levies, and bringing up reserves. There are reports of their occupying Berlin. Serious riots have occurred at various points of the German coast, in opposition to the French douaniers. Dantzic still holds out, and I presume the operations against it will be confined to a blockade or bombardment.

'The weather was very unfavourable yesterday, with successive falls of snow and rain. Yet the Guards mounted in the square as usual, and I was able from Lord Cathcart's windows, immediately above it, to witness the whole proceedings. The Grand Duke Constantine first came upon parade on foot, wearing the uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard who were on duty, and of which he is colonel. He bowed to the different officers as he walked down the line, the men standing at ease. Soon after the Emperor himself came upon parade, attended by Platoff, the Duke of Wurtemburg, brother of the Confederation King, and eight or ten others. Platoff had a Cossack orderly. He was himself dressed something like a Turk, in a blue cloth

[2] The Russian army had been much weakened by the fatigues of the winter campaign. The King of Prussia coming to Kalisch expressed to Prince Leopold his apprehension that the Russian army would not be strong enough when the French reorganised army should advance. The Prince shared the King's misgivings on that subject. *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 381. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

wrapper with white sash, a sort of turban cap, and half-boots with pantaloons. The Emperor wore a long coat of dark green, with green overalls, gold epaulets, and orange ribbon across his breast, and a huge cocked hat with an immense black feather. All the other officers of the suite were dressed in similar hats and coats, with ribbons of dark or light blue, green pantaloons, and long boots. All their hats were worn quite square. The Chasseurs passed in slow and quick time, Constantine on the right of the first section, and saluting with his hand to his hat. After this the Guards halted. The different officers, from twelve to fifteen in number, came out to the centre of the square where the Emperor stood, with his hand to his hat. Each then stepped forward in succession, with sword reversed, said, "I am of such a guard," faced to the left with a peculiar flourish of the sword, and then rejoined his guard. After this the Guards marched to their posts, and the Emperor with his suite walked off.

'The Emperor is about the height of the Duke of York, or perhaps rather taller, but not so large. The Grand Duke Constantine is stouter and shorter. The Emperor is fair, and has a very good countenance; but the Grand Duke has a most unpleasant physiognomy, like a flat-nosed Tartar. Both of them are very smart, and walk with a quick short step. They never miss the guard-mounting, and perform the duties corresponding to those of field-officer and adjutant of the day. The Emperor has also frequently manœuvred one of his regiments of Guards under Lord Cathcart's windows, and given the word of command himself. At other times he has ordered another officer to perform movements with the Chasseurs in extended order down the street, he himself directing and specifying the particular formations. In fact, he is constantly with the army, knows particular men, and speaks to them by name. You may believe how he is adored by them. On one occasion, while the King of

Prussia was with him, he called out a man to show him as a pattern of good conduct. I have not yet caught sight of the[3] Marshal Prince of Smolensko; he does not go out much. Nor have I seen any Russian troops except of the Guards and Cossacks. The former are the finest-looking and best-dressed men I ever came across. Recollect, however, that they are the *élite*[4] of 50,000,000!

'The Emperor has received very graciously Lord Cathcart's proposal to attach me to a corps of the Russian army. When the particular one is fixed on, I shall be presented to him in due form. Sir Robert Wilson, who is now making a tour of inspection to Stettin, Custrin, &c., is to be attached to another. Colonel Lowe is here, but returns to the rear upon a specific duty with the new German Legion.'

Colonel Campbell left Kalisch with the Imperial head-quarters on April 7. They passed by Breslau, Wintzig, and Steinau on the left bank of the Oder. From this last place he diverged to Glogau, one of the fortresses on the Oder still held by the French, for the purpose of seeing the blockade and preparations for the siege—rejoining Lord Cathcart April 23, in order to enter Dresden the following day in triumph with the Allied Sovereigns. Then—on being appointed military attaché to the corps of General Wittgenstein, which was in the front—he was formally presented to the Emperor of Russia, as well as to the King and Crown Prince of Prussia.

His impressions of the Emperor were very favourable. 'I send you herewith a very good likeness of Alexander,

[3] Kutusoff, the hero of the Russian campaign, died soon after this, May 10, 1813, at Bunzlau in Silesia, while still nominally in command of the Imperial Army. His death is said to have been kept secret for some time.

[4] Lord Londonderry, *War in Germany*, ch. iii. p. 32. 'There is however a wide difference between the staple of the Russian Army and the Emperor's Guards. The latter are very select, both Cavalry and Infantry; nothing indeed can be superior. The Grenadiers of the Guard are equally large and stout; the discipline and well-dressed state of these men are very imposing.'

which I got in remembrance of my interview with him. He is a very fine handsome fellow and a keen soldier. When in quarters he never misses the morning parade and guard-mounting. While his army is on the march, he rides with and among the men, and goes exactly the same distances, knows individual soldiers, speaks to them by name, and in every possible way increases the enthusiastic admiration they entertain for him. His Cuirassiers and Guards are very superior to anything we can show. Their horses, and those of the artillery which I have seen, are in the most beautiful condition, although now on service for a year.

'Whatever the Opposition papers may say, I assure you Lord Cathcart is in the greatest favour with the Emperor, and was invited to accompany him throughout the whole of the march from Kalisch, and now rides and dines with him almost daily.'

The headquarters remained at Dresden[5] till April 29, when the two Allied Sovereigns left for the purpose of placing themselves at the head of their respective armies, which had been massed in its immediate vicinity.

'Dresden is a pretty little city; the armoury and museum of sculpture, the finest I ever saw. The extensive picture-gallery and large collection of China from Meissen both belong to the King, but are freely open. The environs are beautiful, particularly near the banks of the Elbe. About a mile from the city is the seat of the late Lord Findlater,[6] which I visited. The climate is delightful, like summer in England, without damp or fog.

'Notwithstanding the King's adhesion to Bonaparte, the

[5] The army advanced towards Dresden, where it arrived in the latter days of April. After a short stay it moved on towards the Saal. *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 381. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

[6] James Ogilvy, seventh Earl of Findlater and fourth Earl of Seafield, died at Dresden, October 5, 1811, without issue, when the latter earldom devolved upon his cousin, Sir Lewis Alexander Grant, uncle of the present peer.

inhabitants of all classes are zealous in our cause. I was at a party the other night, where were assembled some very pretty elegant women of the *élite* of society here; they were quite unanimous in our favour. The Prussians too are enthusiastic; nor, as far as I can hear, is the same feeling wanting in any part of Germany.'

The Allied Armies advanced across the middle of Saxony, in the direction of Lutzen; while Napoleon was moving towards the same point, from Erfurth on the opposite side.

'Saxony,' Colonel Campbell continues, 'is the finest country I have ever been in. It is like the richest part of the interior of England, and abounds in corn and cattle; but it is more picturesque, as there are no fences nor enclosures, but clumps and avenues of trees at intervals.'

On May 1, Colonel Campbell was introduced to Wittgenstein, now commanding the Allied Armies, and became nominally attached to his corps; but subsequently, as opportunities for observation, or reporting progress were afforded, he joined from time to time the rearguard under Milaradovitch, and occasionally the respective staffs of Lord Cathcart and Sir Charles Stewart. Of these, the former remained by the side of the Emperor, while the latter followed Bernadotte.

'Now that I have joined the Russian corps,' he writes, 'my correspondence must be very limited. I shall have no channel of communication except through Lord Cathcart; and if my letters are too lengthy or excessive in number, the Russian general will think, either that I am telling tales to his lordship, or am over-communicative to people in England.'

The following day—the Allies and Napoleon then meeting in fight for the first time on German soil, since the retreat of the latter from Russia,—Colonel Campbell took part in the battle of Lutzen. He records his impressions of the action of May 2, and consequent events, as follows:

'It has sometimes been stated, that Bonaparte was

unexpectedly attacked by the Allies. That could not have been the case. At least he knew they had collected their force on the right bank of the Elster near Pegau, for a large body of cavalry under Wintzenrode was engaged upon April 30 and May 1, near Weissenfells, upon the other side of the Elster, and temporary bridges were at the same time thrown across the river. It was now some weeks since Milaradovitch had occupied Dresden, and Blucher had been advanced at the same time beyond Leipsic.

'All these measures, and the nature of the country, indicated *offensive* operations on the part of the Allies. For there was no object in occupying a *defensive* position behind the Elster, such position being accessible by fine roads upon both flanks, leading towards Dresden, Torgau, and the other passages of the Elbe. But, in my opinion, the Allies ought, on the advance of Bonaparte from Erfurth, to have concentrated on the defensive behind the Elbe. They had no adequate purpose to serve in quitting that advantageous line of defence. But if they did advance to attack, they ought to have been determined upon closing with the enemy as soon as possible during his flank march towards Leipsic. The commander too of the Allied Army should have been named two weeks sooner; not on the day before the battle. And as between the two sovereigns and their respective chiefs, Wittgenstein and Blucher, their objects in making a foward movement should have been well understood beforehand, and those objects manfully acted on.

'Instead of this, upon the day of the battle, a vapouring and unmeaning display of force was first made in front of the enemy, exposing the Allies unnecessarily to the French artillery,[7] while the troops of the latter were not seen

[7] 'It was a furious combat of artillery more especially, and such as modern wars only present. 'It was my good fortune, aided by Colonel Campbell, my aides-de-camp Charles and Brinken, and at

but remained sheltered among the villages and undulations of ground. Then large detachments were sent from our open order of battle (when every man, horse, and gun could be counted for a mile of march in advancing), to attack the centre of the enemy among the enclosures of Gorshern. This was done in the hope of alluring the French into the fine open country so favourable for our numerous cavalry;[8] but they declined the combat further than by an obstinate defence of their position. No diversion in favour of these attacks was made from any other part of the line, the whole of which remained stationary, and open to view of the enemy, so that their attention was not distracted to any other point.

'The solution of all this was, that the Commander-in-Chief was quite unequal to the situation to which he had been appointed, and so felt within himself. His unfitness was further increased by the interruption to reflection caused by his Imperial master, who, in company with his Royal Ally of Prussia, and surrounded by general officers of high rank, and counsellors of state attached to their persons, stood upon a rising ground in the centre of the line, asking questions, suggesting motives and explanations, and discussing the operations during a great part of the day. In the afternoon the two Sovereigns rode down near the village of Gorshern, and a Prussian dragoon who was passing lost his leg by a cannon-shot, so near the

the moment Dawson whom I met on the field, to rally the Prussians, as they were flying from Glogau (?), and extending panic through the Russians, to enter with them, sword in hand, and carry the village, which was maintained until night, when three French columns again threatened to retake it. *Diary of Sir Robert Wilson*, vol. i. p. 354.

[8] The Battle of Lutzen took place on May 2. If the dispositions had been made as they ought to have been, it ought to have been a decisive victory, owing to the great superiority in number and quality of the Allied cavalry.

As it was, the ground was kept by the army, which retired towards the Elbe. *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 381. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

King of Prussia, that he stretched out his arm to support the man while in the act of falling off his horse.

'Then, if it was desirable to attack upon May 2, it was no less so on the third; for both armies were still upon the same ground, and both had probably lost an equal number of men. Bonaparte would not have ventured to attack the Allies for several days, during which time they might have concerted another attack, or at any rate continued to pursue that system of operations, whatever it might be, upon which it ought to be presumed that they had advanced originally from the Elbe.

'Or, if they did determine upon a retreat, they might have commenced it leisurely upon the day after the battle, and not during the first night, thereby dispiriting their own troops, and giving confidence to the enemy.'

As just stated, the Allies drew back after their unsuccessful attack at Lutzen. On May 4, Colonel Campbell was at Rochlitz, on the direct road to Dresden, with Wittgenstein's headquarters; but within two or three days, as we gather incidentally, he had joined Milaradovitch, who commanded the rearguard and protected the retreat. The rest of the Allied troops passed through Dresden on the seventh, scarce making a halt; and Milaradovitch, after recrossing the Elbe there, only remained behind long enough to destroy the bridge and gather up stragglers.

'But why,' Colonel Campbell asks here, 'abandon the capital of Saxony without making any effort? For, besides the bad moral effect which the loss of Dresden had upon the King of Saxony and his troops, and indeed upon all Germany, the occupation of that city was in itself a most important military feature, in combination with the river Elbe and the mountains of Bohemia. There was not a French soldier in Torgau, which might otherwise have threatened our right flank. General Thielmann, the governor, and a whole regiment of Saxons, had evacuated that fortress, and gone over to the Allies.

'Although the Allies were in possession of Dresden for the whole of the month of April, yet up to the time of their retreat, after the battle of Lutzen, no steps whatever had been taken for strengthening the place. Bonaparte[9] proved, within a month or two afterwards, how susceptible it was of defence, by restoring the old works, the ramparts of which still remained, and making the city itself the centre-point of his subsequent operations. The only work which had been attempted by the Allies was a tête-de-pont upon the left bank, intended to protect the pontoon-bridge a mile above the town. This, although so trifling a matter, was only half-finished, and never made use of. A few of the peasants who were unable to desert were kept at their labour upon it, with Russian sentries over them, till the French skirmishers drove them away, and the bridge was set fire to upon the forenoon of May 8.'

The same memoranda afford some graphic sketches of incidents which occurred during the retreat of the Allies and the advance of the French.

'The deficiency of military arrangement and good order were only too evident.

'The Russians were on the left bank of the river Elbe,

[9] Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. ix. ch. lxx. p. 307. *Souvenirs de Dumas*, iii. 503, quoted in note. 'I wish to make Dresden,' said he (Napoleon), 'with its double tête-de-pont, the centre and pivot of my army.'

P. 360. 'Dresden itself was the object of his anxious solicitude. Being but imperfectly fortified, the gaps in its walls were filled up by ditches and palisades, which completed the circuit: the mouldering masonry of the old bastions was repaired, their ditches cleaned out and filled with water; while five large redoubts, connected together by strong palisades, were constructed farther out, the fire from which intersected the whole intervening space, and rendered it impossible to approach the town till part of them at least was taken. The value of these redoubts was strongly felt in the campaign which followed; they saved the French army from a death-blow within a few days after the resumption of hostilities; and so anxious was the Emperor for their completion, that 15,000 peasants conscribed from all parts of Saxony were, during the armistice, employed constantly on them night and day.'

P. 365. 'Dresden is the pivot on which all my operations will turn.'

occupying heights which commanded not only the bridge, but also the opposite plain, over which the French advance of cavalry and light artillery was approaching with great caution. While the last party of Cossacks and a few infantry were in the act of crossing the pontoon-bridge to join the main body of the army, and the French videttes were as yet nearly half a mile distant, such was the confusion, that both ends of the bridge were set fire to at the same moment, and fifteen or twenty of the infantry, who could not rush through the smoke and flames with as much celerity as the Cossacks, were left upon the bridge, which was now burning at either end, and gradually floating down the river. Luckily the stream was not rapid, and few or none of them were drowned. The bridge separated into three pieces, each of which, thirty or forty feet long, and slowly consumed by the flames, majestically and almost insensibly floated down. Some of the French videttes galloped about, holloaing to the Russians apparently in terms of ridicule on account of their stupidity, and a few of them fired their carbines towards us in defiance. The house which had been for many years the residence of the late Lord Findlater, and still, I believe, belongs to his family, stood upon the hill immediately above this bridge. A portion of the pontoons were afterwards saved, I believe, by the French, in consequence of some floating down to their side of the river; while others struck and became fixed against the stone-piers of the city-bridge.

'The enemy likewise profited through another instance of stupid disorder and want of foresight. A boat, capable of containing thirty or forty men, was left near Dresden, upon the left bank of the river. The enemy, with their usual activity and intelligence, passed over some infantry in it on the nights of May 8 and 9, at a point about two miles below the city. On the morning of the 10th, the Russian patrols, to their no small surprise, were fired at

from behind a bank on their own side of the river. Some hundreds of the enemy had already established themselves there, and the boat continued to ply with reinforcements, protected by artillery and parties of skirmishers upon the right bank, these last being dispersed behind trees, or lying down in the hollows of paths. Several hours elapsed before General Milaradovitch, whose corps formed the rearguard, came to visit the spot, during which time no decisive plan had been adopted for driving away the enemy. At last some Russian light guns were brought down, and fired grape at random towards the opposite side of the river; but they did no execution, as the French were perfectly sheltered by the height of the bank above the river.

'A very extraordinary contest of artillery here took place; each party firing grape at the dispersed infantry upon the opposite side, and at each other's guns. The brave but ill-commanded Russian soldiers stood up, and challenged the French upon the opposite bank. The latter however, well under cover, knocked them down, and crippled them literally like pigeons. Still these poor fellows, reproachfully and ineffectually, dared their opponents to stand up on equal terms, and the casualties of their comrades appeared only the more to excite their emulation, and induce the same useless expenditure of their lives. In the course of a few hours, General Milaradovitch withdrew his artillery and skirmishers, and the next morning followed the rest of the army to Bautzen.

'A few days afterwards I was again with Milaradovitch, while engaged against Macdonald at Bischopswerda, just half-way between Dresden and Bautzen. Some of the Russian skirmishers occupied the town, the rest of the corps being on the high ground above it on the east side, while Macdonald held that to the west. Several houses nearest the enemy were then on fire, but whether this arose from accident on the part of those who were defending them, or from the shells of the enemy, I cannot

say. If there was intentional wantonness in the case, as has been suggested, it must have proceeded from the Russians, for there was not a single French soldier within the town. If, on the other hand, the fire was occasioned by the French artillery, that cannot be ascribed to a spirit of mere wantonness, for it was the invariable practice with either army, to fire at a town or village with as little remorse as at a wood, if the expulsion of an adversary could only be thereby obtained.'

The battle of Bautzen was commenced on May 20, and continued throughout the next day. The following day, May 22, Colonel Campbell writes from Görlitz, the possession of which—at a short distance only in rear of the battlefield—sufficiently indicates the fierceness of the combat and the consequent weakness of the pursuit.

'As my horse [1] was killed under me the day before yesterday, it reminds me to give you and my other friends a hint that it was not myself!

'Bonaparte having collected his army in front of Bautzen, where the Allied Russian and Prussian Army had taken up a position, about mid-day on the 20th, crossed the small river Spree, close under the town, without serious opposition. It was not intended to dispute this part of our line of defence, but merely to hold it for a time with the advance. He then attempted to turn both our right and left by cannonade and infantry, but did not succeed.

'During the night, however, he strengthened his bodies of infantry on both flanks, and brought forward the remainder of his army to the hill opposite our centre. Soon after daylight his double attack was renewed, and continued during the day. On our left he gained little ground. On our right he was repulsed, until about 3 P.M., by constant advances of fresh troops, he tired out the brave and sturdy

[1] Colonel Campbell had his horse killed in the next battery by a cannon ball in the neck.' *Diary of Sir Robert Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 18.

Russians, and carried one small eminence. This was retaken and again carried several times. At the same time a detached corps made a detour considerably round our right, in order to threaten our communications; while a large body of infantry in squares, and covered by guns and cavalry, were massed opposite our centre, and not moved from that imposing situation all day, thus keeping our cavalry in check, and being ready to take advantage of any opportunity. Under these circumstances, and with such inequality of numbers, it was deemed necessary to retire. We did so at 6 P.M. in perfect regularity, and pursued but feebly. Every man did his duty most bravely, and the combinations for defence were much more skilful than those of our attack on May 2 at Lutzen. We must have killed many more of the enemy than we lost on our side. Besides, we took some guns, and lost none that I heard of.'

Speaking of the battle of Bautzen at a subsequent period Colonel Campbell remarks, that it 'was much more sanguinary and warmly contested than that of Lutzen. Bonaparte indeed exaggerated the casualties in the latter case, in order to give it more importance and éclat in the eyes of the French nation, it being the first he had fought since his retreat from Russia.'

The various accounts of the battle are somewhat conflicting, with respect to the person who held the chief command on the part of the Allies, and directed their movements, as well during the action as upon the retreat. Colonel Campbell states, in one of his memoranda, that 'Barclay de Tolly joined the Allied Army at Bautzen two days before the battle, but would not assume the command until the battle was over, as the choice of position and the works for its protection had all been made by Wittgenstein.[2]

[2] Lord Londonderry, *War in Germany*, ch. iv. 'The battle [of Bautzen] throughout was well contested: the troops performed their duty in the most intrepid manner; but there was unfortunately some deficiency in management, which motives of delicacy

'When the enemy had forced several parts of the position, and it became necessary to make arrangements for the retreat, it was General Knesebeck,—a Prussian officer in attendance upon the King, and therefore in company with him and the Emperor of Russia throughout the day,—who amid the general confusion was obliged to suggest the roads to be appropriated for the retreat of the several corps, and to detail the cavalry which were to cover the rear of the army.'

A periodical of the day, in which Colonel Campbell is mentioned 'as having been engaged at the battle of Lutzen, and had a horse killed under him at the battle of Bautzen,' remarks:

'He is the same officer whom we announced some time ago as having gone, by way of Gottenburgh, on a particular service to the headquarters of the Allies. His duties would appear to consist in being present with the armies, and reporting confidentially to the British Ambassador and Government their condition and character. Colonel Campbell, it is said, extended his observations to the enemy also; for, besides exposing himself in the grand battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, so as to receive a wound in the first, and to have his horse killed under him in the latter, we understand he advanced so near Bonaparte on one occasion, that he could see that extraordinary personage with the naked eye, and distinguished him from the staff officers and attendants by whom he was surrounded.'

and diffidence prevent me from dwelling upon.

Count Wittgenstein, on all occasions, displayed great personal courage; but certainly he did not possess the general confidence of the Russian army, because perhaps he was not a Russian.'

Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. ix. ch. lxx. p. 322 (writing of a slightly subsequent period): 'It was often difficult to say, amidst the confusion of emperors, kings, and generals, at headquarters, who really held the supreme command; every one was willing to share in the credit of successful measures, but none would admit the responsibility of reverses.'

One of his own letters gives a particular account of this last incident:

'We saw two distinguished characters on a hill about gunshot from our battery, and not 500 yards above our skirmishers, at the beginning of the action, and have every reason to suppose that one was Bonaparte and the other Beauharnais.[3] They walked up and down twenty or thirty yards in front of all the others for about half an hour, having some videttes along the face of the hill, and two small bodies of cavalry on either flank, and a Mameluke among others standing behind. The party were so near, that without the glass I could distinguish two small specks in advance of the crowd. With the glass the one answered precisely to Bonaparte's figure: he had on a plain hat, and walked with his hands behind his back; the other had on a feathered hat, and wore a blue uniform coat with a star, white pantaloons, and half-boots very high.

After the battle of Bautzen,[4] the Allied Army continued to retreat in good order through Silesia, passing by Gorlitz and Goldberg. On May 25 (on which day Colonel Campbell notes, 'the Duke of Brunswick Oëls[5] just arrived'), the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia left the latter

[3] This appears to have been a mistake, so far as the latter individual was concerned. Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, who had commanded a division of the French Army at Lutzen, was with Napoleon when he entered Dresden on May 8, but quitted him for Milan on the 10th, in the fear that Austria was about to declare herself.

'Le même jour (Mai 10) le Prince Eugène reçut de Napoléon l'ordre de retourner en Italie, et d'y organiser une armée.' Vaudoncourt, *Histoire du Prince Eugène*, vol. ii. ch. x. p. 199.

[4] 'The Allied Army was too weak, and though again not beaten, it was forced to retire into Silesia.' *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 381. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

[5] The Duke of Brunswick Oëls, nephew of George III. and brother of Queen Caroline, having been driven out of his own territory by Napoleon's partizans, had resided in England since the latter end of the year 1809, and his contingent had been taken into British pay. The news of the war in Germany recalled him to that country. He was killed at Quatre Bras on June 16, 1815, at the head of his 'Black Brunswickers.'

place for Jauer, near which, at Pleswitz, an armistice was signed on June 4.

From Reichenbach, June 11, 1813, Colonel Campbell writes:

'You will have heard of the armistice concluded for six weeks. The French line passes by Laun, Goldberg, Leignitz, and the river Katzbach to the Oder. Ours is parallel to it, about fifteen miles distant, passing by Pfaufendorf, Landshut, Bolkenhayn, Striegau, Cauth, and a short distance on this side of Breslau. Breslau is not occupied by either party.

'If the Austrians are determined on being ready to fight the French by the time the armistice expires, or to fix them to proper terms of restitution before that, all will be well. If they waver, I shall regret that the armistice ever was entered into.

'The Russian force has been greatly overrated by themselves; and even of those assembled, a vast number are always out of the ranks, being with the baggage, or acting as servants. It was evident at Bautzen that the French had at least one-quarter more numerical force present in the field than ours, which was *said* to consist of 45,000 Russians and 35,000 Prussians.[6]

'The Russians have the finest materials of men I have ever seen, but ignorant officers, a great want of arrangement, and much of the Eastern loose mode in regard to baggage and followers. The Prussians are *perfect* in everything. They have made glorious efforts, and I trust they will not be deserted now, as they were at Tilsit.

'The French have certainly lost an immense number of men in their attacks at Bautzen and upon our rearguard

[6] Lord Londonderry, *War in Germany*, ch. iv. p. 48, 49. 'There was the usual difficulty amongst the Russians as to their numbers, and it was impossible to procure a correct estimate. 'If other mis-statements were averaged in the same ratio, it may be calculated that the Allies had not more than 65,000 in the battle. The enemy must have had from 100,000 to 120,000 men.'

in the subsequent marches. At Sir Charles Stewart's, some days ago, I dined in company with Count Stadion. He related that Bubna—an Austrian Minister, I believe—went from Prague to Dresden lately, but had great difficulty in finding a quarter there, as the city was crowded with wounded; and from that place to Bautzen, the road was covered with dead and dying. He had an escort of 3,000 men, and Bonaparte ("L'Empereur Napoleon," as Stadion persisted in calling him!) recommended him not to remain there, as he could not pledge himself for his safety with Bülow's parties and Cossacks about. I wish there had been more such parties!'

During the armistice[7] Colonel Campbell made a tour along the frontier of Bohemia. He was desirous of prolonging it as far as Vienna, in order that he might view the ground on which the battles of Austerlitz, Aspern, and Wagram had been fought; but for this Lord Cathcart refused to give leave 'for political reasons.' It had been rumoured at the moment, that the French Emperor had made proposals to England for a Plenipotentiary to be sent to join the others, then assembled at Prague; and as Lord Castlereagh and the British Government had, in truth, refused to take any part in that congress, it seemed only prudent that no British officer in full employ under Lord Cathcart should be traversing Austrian territory at the same time.

[7] 'An armistice was then concluded at the beginning of June, which lasted till the middle of August. Negotiations had been carried on at Prague. Napoleon could not bring himself to accept the most moderate propositions of the Three Powers. The Emperor of Austria feared the breaking-out of a war, and, to the last moment, expressed the hope that Napoleon would give way.

'Prince Leopold remained the whole time at Prague, much in the society of the negotiators, Prince Metternich, Baron Humboldt, Baron Austedt the Russian Plenipotentiary, Chevalier Gentz, &c. He was the only person admitted to see the Emperor Francis of Austria.' *Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, pp. 381, 382. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

On July 12, in the very midst of the negotiations which were being carried on at Prague, a meeting took place at Trachenberg, a town in the North of Silesia, between the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, for the purpose of arranging military operations among the Allies, on the anticipated reopening of hostilities; a proof how little, by some at least of the parties principally concerned, a favourable issue was expected from the Congress; although at the same time, by mutual agreement, the armistice was prolonged for ten days.

In the interval, too, the news of the great battle of Vittoria, fought on June 21, had become universally diffused, and produced decisive effects, in opposition to all diplomatic endeavours after peace.

Colonel Campbell, writing from Reichenbach, July 13, 1813, naturally takes a purely national view of so important an event:

'We English have held our heads very high for some days, in consequence of information of a great victory gained by Lord Wellington, near Vittoria. It rests on *French* authority, communicated by the Austrian Minister at Dresden to Stadion, the Austrian Minister here. Our accounts are, that three divisions have been routed, and all their baggage and cannon taken. The Austrians at Dresden perceived that some unpleasant news had reached Bonaparte and his Ministers. With some difficulty he traced the quarter, and gradually extorted this confession from the Duke of Bassano. We have no doubt of it, but long to be able to show our own accounts to these continental gentlemen, and say: "Look here, and do the same!" If Lord Wellington had this army under British control, he would march to Paris. There is a very fine young man living with me here, a son of Lord Arden, and nephew of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer.'

During the lull of war in Germany, occasioned by the

armistice of Pleswitz, the battle of Vittoria appears to have given rise, as might be expected, to much discussion; and many comparisons were in consequence drawn between the respective merits of Napoleon and Wellington. The following rough memorandum on this point occurs among Colonel Campbell's papers, pointing, probably, to some article which had appeared in a foreign publication.

'Some of the anecdotes told of Bonaparte may be interesting to persons who have not shared in military operations, as to them they appear to convey a peculiar character of activity, on horseback and otherwise. But without in the least insinuating that he does not display extraordinary power, the description given of him by French officers and others of his admirers only express what would be the habits of any other commander-in-chief in the field. Besides, the mere title of "General Officer," given as authority for statements, is no explanation. Unless the person in question were attached to the headquarters, he would only know the gossip of the army, filtered perhaps through a hundred channels from the fountain-head. We want to know, in each case, what is his character, and his opportunities of observation as an eye-witness; what situation he held while with the French army, or upon the scene of action.

'But after all, upon a comparison of the respective duties performed by Bonaparte and Wellington—the one aided by Berthier, Bassano, Caulaincourt, Narbonne, Duroc, Murat, and many Aides-de-camp of the rank of general officers *about his person*—the other unassisted in great measure by any individual excepting his Quartermaster General, Sir George Murray—the active powers of mind and body, displayed by the latter, appear to me even more surprising than those of the former. In addition to the immediate operation of his army, Wellington has to carry on a separate correspondence with the British Minister and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army at home—the

General commanding the British Army in the South of Spain—the Regency of Portugal and the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army—the Spanish Government, the several Commanders of the Spanish Armies, and the Guerilla Chiefs—making in all ten or twelve branches, with whom he is obliged to make distinct arrangements and combinations.'

CHAPTER V.

[1813—1814.]

JOINS HEADQUARTERS OF DUKE OF WURTEMBURG BEFORE DANTZIC—INCIDENTS OF SIEGE—RECEIVES IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ORDERS OF ST. GEORGE AND ST. ANNE—CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC—BERLIN—DINES WITH PRINCESS OF ORANGE—EVENING VISIT TO PRINCESS LOUISE OF PRUSSIA—HEADQUARTERS OF ALLIED SOVEREIGNS AT FRIBOURG—REJOINS WITTGENSTEIN, AND CROSSES THE RHINE—BATTLE OF BRIENNE, ETC.—PRINTED PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII. AT NOGENT-SUR-SEINE—WOUNDED AT FÊRE CHAMPENOISE—ARRIVES IN PARIS—APPOINTED BRITISH COMMISSIONER TO ELBA—KNIGHTED, WITH PATENT OF AUGMENTATION TO ARMS.

THE armistice expired on August 10, and the Austrian declaration of war was expected to appear at Prague on the following day, when the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia proceeded from Reichenbach towards Bohemia with a portion of the army, in order to meet their new ally of Austria. Colonel Campbell writes from Reichenbach, August 11, 1813:

'I have been now for three weeks expecting my instructions to proceed to Dantzic, in order to *harmonise* the Duke of Wurtemburg, Admiral Gregg [the Russian Admiral], who remains on shore with him, Captain Acklom commanding the British squadron, and Major Macdonald with his guns.

'I shall regret not seeing the Austrians, as well as miss the variety attending the movements of so large an army as this; and if the siege of Dantzic becomes a tedious operation, I shall hope to be allowed to rejoin headquarters without waiting for the issue.'

Receiving his orders on the following day, Colonel Campbell left Reichenbach on August 13. The journey

to Dantzic occupied four days, travelling as he did night and day, in order to reach his destination with all speed. The siege of that place was proceeding slowly enough, the operations being carried on under the supreme command of H.R.H. the Duke of Wurtemburg, uncle of the Emperor of Russia, by 30,000 Russian and Prussian troops, chiefly militia, and a flotilla of Russian gun-boats, assisted by a small British force, naval and military.

In the first instance, Colonel Campbell took up his residence at the Duke's headquarters, as the best point for facilitating communication among the parties engaged. The duties assigned to him were somewhat varied and complicated. He was the medium of intercourse between His Royal Highness and the British officers, Captain Acklom and Major Macdonald, commanding respectively detachments of the navy and artillery; and he had to combine at the same time the operations of the latter with those of the Russian and Prussian besieging force under Admiral Gregg. He was likewise charged to superintend the disembarkation of immense stores of guns, ammunition, rockets, &c., which were being despatched from England, as well as to report all along to Lord Cathcart, the general progress of events.

In announcing his arrival at Dantzic he writes:

'I have found the Duke of Wurtemburg kind beyond description; his table is always open to me. I have quarters in his house; a sentry and an orderly; and his horses are at my command.'

A few days afterwards, the Duke being then unfortunately confined to bed by illness, and his headquarters being likewise situated at a point too far distant from the sea-board, where the operations were for the moment most important, and the officers of the British Navy and Artillery were posted, Colonel Campbell proceeded to Olu, a village on the coast, and took up his abode at the house of a merchant, who was shut up in Dantzic, the other

tenants of the mansion being a Colonel of Cossacks who was sick, and a Major of Russian Infantry wounded.

'This is an elegant château, with all the accompaniments of luxury. There are a number of similar ones all round, with fine gardens, shrubberies, promenades, statues, jets d'eau, &c., and woods and lawns sloping down towards the shore. The Duke furnishes me with dragoon horses in addition to my own; and the two Cossacks with me, acting as orderlies, have their own horses.'

Throughout the month of September there were repeated combats, occasioned by attacks on the one side and sorties on the other; and resulting in various success. Colonel Campbell gives particulars of some of these.

'Off Dantzic, September 3, 1813.

'I am now on board H.I.M.'s Frigate "Amphitrite," Admiral Gregg, after being up all night in the suburb of Langfuhr, in consequence of an attack which commenced there at 4 P.M. yesterday. The whole was very soon carried by the Russians, with the exception of two houses which were fortified. The resistance occasioned by these, and the reinforcements sent to them by the garrison, kept up constant fighting and burning of houses throughout the night.

'I came on board here about 8 this morning, expecting that in the course of the day we shall attack some batteries upon an island at the mouth of the Vistula; also some works upon the mainland, which are separated by a branch of the river about twenty yards broad. Admiral Gregg has eighty gun-boats, each mounting three guns. Captain Acklom gives the use of our twenty transports, which took on board yesterday 1,400 Russian troops and pioneers, and the boats of the transports will debark them. The works on the mainland are to be attacked at the same time by Russian and Prussian troops, under the orders of Admiral Gregg.'

From a subsequent letter we find that this plan of action did not succeed. 'Our attack by sea was not sufficiently impressive to enable us to land the troops, and the wind has since been too violent for another effort to be made. The siege is going on, but I do not expect rapid progress.'

On October 10 there is a record of another mishap:

'Last night we made an attack. Unhappily, we lost eight or nine hundred men, and failed after all! I got a musket-shot through my coat, just below the shoulder, but luckily my side was presented, otherwise it might have been an ugly thump; for the French were only about twenty yards off, firing from behind a bank.'

A third time we hear incidentally of his being warmly engaged, but now with happier result.

'In consequence of a particular act in going forward with the rockets, and pushing the Russian light troops into the outer defences of the town, when he was slightly wounded, H.R.H. the Duke of Wurtemburg recommended Colonel Campbell for the distinction of the golden sword, or sabre of honour. This is a small badge of that weapon, worn like a military decoration at the breast. As, however, there was no precedent for a foreigner, not holding a commission in the Russian Army, receiving this decoration, the Emperor conferred upon him in its place the 4th Class of the Order of St. George. This is by far the most honourable of all the Imperial Orders, being purely military, and one which is most sparingly bestowed. The Emperor himself only wears the 4th Class of it; no one but Kutusoff had the 1st. It is a small white cross, with an image of the Saint, suspended at the left breast by a ribbon of orange and black stripes.'

Colonel Campbell was likewise made, at this period, a Knight of the Imperial Order of St. Anne, second class; 'the badge of which is worn round the neck, suspended by a red ribbon with yellow edges. It is supposed to be in

diamonds and precious stones, which, however, are only imitation; and there is a cross in the centre, set in gold.' These orders he received permission from his own government to 'accept and wear.'

The siege drew its weary length along, and Colonel Campbell was soon longing for more active service.

'The Duke of Wurtemburg is very kind, but it is too far from the grand theatre. Nor do I find that there is anything to be learnt here. Rapp and his officers are so comfortable in Dantzic compared to what they would be as prisoners, that they have every personal inducement to a vigorous defence; they have bread for some weeks, and horse-flesh has no longer any prejudice with them. The Danes, too, have promised to throw in a supply of provisions. Sixteen of their vessels are now at Bornholm. The besieging army is stated to be 40,000, but I do not think 25,000 are effective; such are the abuses of a Russian army! Of these 20,000 are militia.'

However, when applied to, the Duke refused to part with Colonel Campbell, until after the capitulation of the town, which took place on November 29.

At a subsequent period he received the following letter of thanks, signed by ten of the principal inhabitants of Dantzic, who had been shut up as prisoners in their own city during the time the French held it in possession:

'Sir,—It was with extreme regret that we, and many of our most respectable fellow-citizens, felt ourselves deprived, by your early departure, of the satisfaction we anticipated, by presenting to you personally the grateful acknowledgments due to your generous endeavours to lessen the devastations of a siege; but we have the pleasure now to convey these in our and their name. And we doubt not it will be deemed to enhance in some degree the honourable distinction with which your services towards reducing this city have been marked, that they

were united with exertions highly beneficial to the interests of the suffering inhabitants.

'We believe ourselves also to be partly indebted to you, for Captain Green having continued the blockade at so late a season beyond the period intended, which no doubt contributed to forward the capitulation; and we beg the favour of your conveying to Captain Green our thanks for this material service.

'&c. &c.'

Colonel Campbell's next letter is addressed from Frankfort-on-the-Maine, December 18, 1813:

'I left Dantzic on the 4th, and arrived here this morning. From hence I shall proceed towards Switzerland, to receive Lord Cathcart's further instructions.

'The siege of Dantzic was shockingly mismanaged. I am told that the capitulation, or rather convention entered into there, has not been ratified. Do not think I had any part in it, for my sentiments were openly against it. I long foresaw the embarrassments which would arise from a prosecution of the siege at such a season, and with such troops; and I proposed not to open the first parallel after the battle of Leipsic, but merely to continue the blockade till the provisions of the enemy were exhausted.'

From Dantzic to Frankfort, his route lay through the centre of Germany, passing by Berlin, Leipsic, Weimar, and Fulda.

'Berlin is the prettiest town (not excepting Edinburgh) that I have ever seen—very regular, and yet varied with fine buildings, squares, and spacious streets. The only want is pavement for foot-passengers. In England there are two great defects, which are generally supplied on the Continent, viz. the fine avenues of trees which form the promenades in and about the various cities, and are a peculiar feature; as well as the handsome gateways, which span the entrances to the principal streets, and pro-

duce a very fine effect. During my stay at Berlin I dined with the Princess of Orange, mother of the present Stadtholder. The evening after I spent at the Princess Louise's, sister of the King of Prussia, who is married to the Polish Prince Radzivill. There were three other gentlemen besides myself, the Princess of Orange and her daughter, widow of the Duke of Brunswick Oëls (the elder brother of the Princess of Wales), and three other ladies. We sat round a large table and had tea, which was made by one of the ladies of the household, and handed about by one of the servants, just in the same *family* style as in England. After this a large dish of omelette was placed before the same lady, and a plate of it with a spoon was delivered to each. Then a dish with pudding was served out in the same way. No cloth was laid, and each held the plate, like a cup of tea, in the hand. The conversation went on with great spirit, for the Princess Louise is uncommonly clever and lively. The ladies were employed in picking lint[1] from old linen for the wounded. This is a constant occupation in all families, and generally a requisition for a certain quantity, according to the number in family, is made by the magistrates.'

From Frankfort Colonel Campbell proceeded to Fribourg in Switzerland, where the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, with the various diplomatic and military chiefs, were then holding their headquarters.

On reporting himself to Lord Cathcart there, he was at once sent to rejoin Count Wittgenstein, commanding one of the great corps of the Russian Army at Radstadt; and, in attendance on that officer, crossed the Rhine near the

[1] February 3, 1814. 'Lady Castlereagh, Lady Clancarty, with myself and a few others, sat round a table with the Princesses, who employed us in making what they were pleased to call lint for the soldiers, but which I hope was never used for that purpose.' *Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian*, p. 44, 45.

latter place, upon January 1, 1814. From the Rhine, the Russian corps advanced by Hagenau, Luneville, Nancy, and Toul. On January 29 he was present at the battle of Brienne[2]—the first fought on French soil—being on that occasion attached to Marshal Blucher's Staff.

In the course of the subsequent months of February and March, he took part in a succession of combats, such as Nogent-sur-Seine, Mormant, Bar-sur-Aube, Troyes, Nangis, Vandœuvre, Arcis-sur-Aube, &c.; 'in fact, in every affair where any considerable part of Count Wittgenstein's corps, or of his advanced guard, under that brave and intelligent officer, Count Pahlen, came in contact with the French.'

Colonel Campbell relates a curious and interesting incident as having occurred on one of these occasions:

'Upon Feburary 11, 1814, at Nogent-sur-Seine, when it was first attacked by the Allies, I was with General Pahlen, who commanded there. I then, for the first time, saw, in the possession of Marshal Wrede, a copy, in French, of H.M. Louis XVIII.'s Proclamation, dated from Hartwell, January 1, 1814. I wrote out another copy of it, while in a deserted house under fire, and prevailed upon General Dovray, chief of Wittgenstein's Staff, and the Count himself, to get 2,000 copies printed at Provins, and these were subsequently circulated. Soon afterwards, upon February 17, when retreating from Mormant, with the skirmishers of the rearguard under fire, I alighted from my horse, and fixed a packet of these papers upon the meat-hooks of a butcher's shop. They were the first ever published near Paris.'

Upon March 25, Colonel Campbell was severely wounded, near Fêre Champenoise, by a lance-thrust through the

[2] The great army struggled on in France; political difficulties preventing its going after the battle of Brienne, on February 2, to Paris, which might easily have been done.' *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, Appendix A, p. 384. *Reminiscences of King Leopold.*

back, and a sabre-cut across the head. It was supposed, on subsequent inquiry, that in consequence of his wearing a blue surtout and red sash, added to their overhearing him call out to the enemy in their own language, the Cossacks, who inflicted the wounds, had mistaken him for a French officer, and in consequence rode him down from behind. It was in vain that, while in the act of falling from his horse, he had the presence of mind to throw open his coat and display his Russian decorations.

The particulars of this affair are best quoted from his own journal:

'The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia entered Vitry-sur-Marne in Champagne, upon March 24, 1814. A council of war was held, at which Prince Schwartzenberg (whose army had approached that place, marching from Arcis-sur-Aube), Lord Cathcart, Sir Charles Stewart, and the Russian Minister Nesselrode, assisted. Prince Blucher with his army was known to be in the direction of Epernay and Laon, but was not in direct communication. Napoleon and his army had passed a little above Vitry two days before, moving in the direction of St. Dizier. An intercepted letter from him to the Empress Marie Louise (which was taken upon March 23), explaining the object of the intended operations, was discussed at this council; and it was determined that Prince Schwartzenberg's army should advance upon the following day to Paris by the direct great road. In course of the march, upon March 25, towards Fêre Champenoise, several detachments of French troops, in advance of the corps commanded by Marshals Marmont and Mortier, who supposed themselves upon a free line of communication with the rear of the French Emperor's army, were forced to retrace their steps, being, to their astonishment, attacked by the advanced parties of an army moving in front from Vitry, and upon the left flank from Epernay. One of these consisted of 5,000 infantry and artillery, escorting a great

convoy of ammunition, and 80,000 rations of bread from Paris, under the command of General Pacthoud. Followed by increasing swarms of Cossacks during the whole day, they were obliged to abandon their waggons; and near sunset, reinforcements of cavalry and artillery having come up, and being supported by approaching masses, they were forced, after a very brave resistance against the charges of several squadrons, to halt in a mass, as if disposed to surrender. In the confusion which ensued, some of the Russian cavalry cutting down the enemy, and they selling their lives in desperation, I called out to the latter "to cease firing, or they would all be massacred." Some squadrons of Russian cavalry arriving to support those with whom I had executed the first charge, and seeing me in the melée, as if giving orders to the French, considered me to be one of their opponents. One of the hussars of the front rank, who are armed with lances, struck his weapon through my back; and when I was upon the ground, another cut me with his sabre across the head, although I cried out lustily, "Anglisky Polkovnick" (English Colonel). A Russian officer succeeded, by the use of better language, in preventing the infliction of a third wound. This may give some idea of the exasperated feelings which even the common soldiers bore towards each other; so different, I am happy to say, from those which existed between the British and French troops opposed to each other in the Pyrenees and the adjacent frontier of France.

'A very melancholy occurrence was passing at the moment upon the opposite side of this same mass of French infantry. Colonel Rapatell, Aide-de-camp of the lamented General Moreau, had accompanied him in his exile to America, and returned with him to Europe. After the death of his chief before Dresden, he continued with the Emperor Alexander, who, looking upon this attack at the distance of a quarter of a mile, sent Colonel Rapatell to

the spot. This officer, actuated by the same motives of humanity which influenced myself, approached the French square, waving his handkerchief; and about the time that I received my wounds, he likewise was struck by a musket shot, which killed him on the spot. His brother was at the very moment among the mass of French, serving as a Captain of Light Artillery, and had greatly distinguished himself in the course of the day.'

The Emperor of Russia, who was close by (as just mentioned), testified the deepest personal concern at the unfortunate mischance through which Colonel Campbell had been wounded, and treated him with the most marked kindness and consideration, placing him under the charge of Dr. Crichton, one of his own medical attendants, and Dr. Gessling, Physician-in-Chief to the Imperial Guards, who dressed his wounds on the field of battle, and afterwards accompanied him to the village of Fêre Champenoise, where he passed the night.

'' There also Dr. Wylie, the head of the Emperor's medical staff, and, like Dr. Crichton, a countryman of his own, visited him by command of Alexander.

The following anecdote is related on the authority of the former:

'Sir Neil Campbell, you may remember, was severely wounded by a party of Cossacks, owing to a mistake on their part, from hearing him speak French. Now it so happened there was a regiment of these wild sons of the desert with which that officer was constantly present, and which corps invariably furnished him with escorts and orderlies when required. Indeed, a sergeant of the regiment was ever with him, as his own particular henchman! By an odd coincidence, this man's name was Cambloff; and it was unfortunate that, at the moment Sir N. Campbell was wounded, he had been sent to the rear with a message from him to one of the Russian commanders, which detained him for some time. When, on his

return he found his beloved chief bleeding and senseless, his wrath, and that of the whole regiment to which he belonged, rose to such a height, that it was not without difficulty the Muscovite authorities could prevent them coming to blows with the corps the men belonged to, through whose ignorance the disaster had been occasioned.'

Lord Burghersh,[3] in his 'Memoir of the Operations of the Allied Armies,'[4] refers to the incident in the following terms:

'Colonel Campbell, who was particularly distinguished on this occasion, was severely wounded by a Cossack, who, taking him for a French officer, forced his pike through his back.'

As likewise in his Lordship's public despatch to the Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst:

'It is with the greatest regret I have to announce to your lordship that Colonel Campbell was yesterday most severely wounded by a Cossack. Colonel Campbell, continuing that gallant and distinguished course which has ever marked his military career, had charged with the first cavalry which penetrated the French masses. The Cossacks, who came to support the cavalry, mistook him for a French officer, and struck him to the ground. From the appearance this morning, however, I am in considerable hope of his recovery.'

Sir Charles Stewart's despatch,[5] on the same occasion, also mentions the circumstance:

'Your lordship will, I am sure, regret to learn, that that very deserving officer, Colonel Neil Campbell, was unfortunately wounded by a Cossack, in the *melée* of the cavalry.'

He had also to lament the loss of all his baggage (containing, besides personal effects, many important papers and memoranda), which had been, as well as himself, with

[3] Afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmoreland.

[4] Part viii. p. 233.

[5] Afterwards third Marquis of Londonderry.

the advance-guard of the Russians, and could never afterwards be recovered.

The following *précis*, dating apparently from this period, when he was laid up from active service, and was able to review, from the quietude of a sick-bed, the circumstances of the preceding campaign, will perhaps be read with interest in the light of more modern events:

'The description given of the immense quantity of carriages and followers of the Russian Army, resembling a horde of Asiatics, is perfectly correct. This is the ruin of that army, for by those encumbrances the resources of the country are exhausted, while the army is impeded, and becomes unmanageable from the difficulty of collecting it. It cannot act with force and promptitude against the enemy, and is itself exposed to sudden attacks along its own extensive, weakened, and disorderly front. The superintendence of the general and field-officers over each other and over the subordinates is lost. The former are scattered over the whole country, with all sorts of carriages and an unlimited number of servants, in order to place themselves within the best quarters they can find, at a distance from the bivouacs of their respective regiments. The men composing the latter are consequently inattentive to their position and duties, and become themselves scattered, so as to obtain as much shelter and plunder as they can. Individual bravery is rendered unavailing, while so loose a system prevails; and it was to this that Napoleon owed his success, in 1813 and 1814, against armies so superior in numbers and far superior in physical force to the raw levies of the French Army.

'After the battle of Lutzen the Russian officers openly expressed their sentiments as to there being no national object for them whereon to waste their lives in fighting the battles of the Germans. The Austrians sent nearly the whole of their force to the Army of Italy and that near Lyons. The smaller German Powers, such as Bavaria

and Wurtemburg, each of which acted generally as separate corps, although under the orders of Prince Schwartzenberg, considered themselves too weak to stand the brunt of the contest against the French, and sought every opportunity to avoid it. But the Prussians under Blucher always looked out for occasions to close with the enemy, every individual being enthusiastically hostile against the French; and they alone served with feelings similar to those of the British Army. The French generally killed five to one of the Russians; yet the army of Bonaparte was so inferior to that commanded by Soult in Spain, that the detachments of the latter, brought from thence first to Germany and then to Champagne, were considered the *élite*, quite equal to the Old Guard.

'Any rapid reform in the Russian Army can only be superficial, *e.g.* in matters of parade, or of dress, so long as it is constituted as at present. The radical improvements must keep pace with the general civilisation of the whole population. The officers who possess education are so few in proportion to the whole number in the army, that they are only to be found in the Guards, on the Staff, and in a few of the favourite regiments of cavalry. The staff-officers are generally ten times as numerous as those attached to the generals of other nations; and the whole of them, excepting the chief, spend their days for the most part in eating and drinking, gambling and sleeping—all these operations too being performed in the same room, and by the parties relieving each other!

'When any regiment of infantry is about to be engaged, the general places at its head one of the many officers attached to him, at the very moment perhaps that the enemy are marching forward. This favourite is afterwards sent, with a flaming report of his prowess, to the Emperor, who, in the fulness of his joy, confers upon him a decoration or a step of rank—perhaps both. This career of military service will be sufficient to show what sort of instruction the best Russian officers receive, and what may

be expected of them when they rise to the chief commands. The other officers, who are uneducated, and speak no language except their mother-tongue, have very little prospect of ever advancing. They only look to the comfort of the moment, by plundering, and evading in every possible way the hardships of the field. The privates derive no advantage from the zeal, intelligence, foresight, and combinations of their superiors. Their strong physical powers alone support them in the exercise of their duties. It may readily be conceived, that the improvement of any army composed of such materials must be very slow, and that the exertions of the sovereign, the imitation of more civilised nations, and the introduction of foreign officers can only effect superficial reforms. The rest must be a work of time, and cannot *precede* the general civilisation of the whole empire by its gradual improvement in arts and sciences.'[6]

Being delayed at Fêre Champenoise by his wounds, which at first bore a dangerous aspect, and caused great difficulty in breathing, Colonel Campbell did not reach Paris till April 9, nine days after its capture by the Allied Armies. The issue of the then existing crisis was still uncertain; the fate of Napoleon yet trembled on the

[6] Lord Londonderry's *War in Germany*, ch. iii. pp. 32, 33: 'The numerous baggage waggons of all descriptions, &c., exceed belief; and no general officer has less than eighteen or twenty orderlies, cavalry and infantry, which always follow him. In fact, I am persuaded the men out of the ranks, and the followers and military attendants in a Russian Army, amount to at least one-fifth of the total number.

'With regard to the officers, they are certainly brave men, and some of superior abilities; but the generality of them did not at this period possess those talents and resources found among their opponents, so long initiated in the school of Bonaparte.

'The general tone prevalent throughout the military officers of the Russian Army was of a desponding nature: they thought they had done enough, especially as Austria had not declared itself, and Saxony continued to oppose them. The tide of their success seemed to them arrested, and they eagerly looked to their own frontier.

'The soldiers of the Prussian Army had, at this crisis, a higher and more animated feeling: they were fighting for their existence, and every mile, if in retreat, raised a murmur of discontent. Their state of discipline was good, and their superior officers most efficient; their cavalry fine, and artillery excellent.

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balance. For although on April 4 he had drawn up and signed an act declaring his readiness to descend from the throne, should it be necessary for the welfare of France and the peace of Europe, it was with this reserve—that the rights of his son should be maintained, and the Empress appointed Regent in the meantime. To this partial surrender, however, of his power the Allies had refused to agree; and it was not till April 11, when he found that all his marshals were deserting him one by one, and that further resistance was hopeless, that he was prevailed upon to sign his final act of abdication, and to accept the sovereignty of Elba—as suggested in the first instance by the Emperor Alexander.[7]

On the completion of the 'Treaty of Fontainebleau,' the Four Allied Powers at once proceeded to nominate commissioners, who were to accompany the ex-Emperor to the place of embarkation. For this appointment Colonel Campbell was selected by Lord Castlereagh on the part of the British Government. It was somewhat against the opinion of Dr. Crichton (who continued his attendance in Paris) that he undertook so anxious and difficult an office —as testified by the following medical certificate:

'It is but my duty to add that this journey, undertaken before the complete cure of his wounds, and while labouring under the symptoms just mentioned, is accompanied with very considerable danger; and that nothing but the idea that Colonel Campbell is going to a warmer climate, and his extreme anxiety to obey the orders he had received, could have justified his setting out before the complete cicatrisation of his wounds.'

[7] *Viscount Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst.*

'Paris, April 13, 1814.

. . . . . .

'I should have wished to substitute another position in lieu of Elba for the seat of Napoleon's retirement; but none having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposable, to which equal objections did not occur, and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulaincourt assured me Bonaparte repeatedly mentioned, —namely, an asylum in England.'

In the well-known picture of the elder Vernet, entitled 'Les Adieux de Fontainebleau,' the figure of Colonel Campbell is represented in his wounded condition, with head bound, and his arm supported in a sling.

The circumstances of the mission to Elba will be hereafter detailed in his own words. During his residence there he received a patent, conferring upon him knighthood, and an honourable augmentation to his arms; and he was likewise made a Companion of the Bath, and received a pension for wounds of 300*l.* a year.[8]

[8] 'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to confer the honour of Knighthood upon Neil Campbell, Esq., Colonel in the Army, and Knight of the Imperial Russian Orders of St. Anne of the Second Class, and of St. George of the Fourth Class.

'And the Prince Regent, being desirous of conferring upon the said Sir Neil Campbell such a further mark of His Majesty's royal favour as may, in an especial sense, evince the sense he entertains of the highly distinguished services performed by that officer at the conquest of the important colonies of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and their dependencies; at the assault and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and at the brilliant engagement on the plains of Salamanca; as also the great zeal and ability manifested by him while attached to the Russian Army in the glorious and ever-memorable campaigns, which have recently terminated in the restoration of peace in Europe, and more especially the signal intrepidity displayed by him in the action fought at Fêre Champenoise in France, on the 25th day of March last: His Royal Highness has been pleased to grant unto the said Sir Neil Campbell, His Majesty's royal licence and authority, that, to the ancient armorial ensigns of his family, he and his descendants may bear the following honourable augmentations, that is to say:

'"*On a chief a lion passant guardant, grasping in the dexter paw a sword; and on a canton pendent from a ribbon, a representation of the badge of the Imperial Russian Military order of St. George,*" conferred upon the said Sir Neil Campbell by His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, in testimony of the sense entertained by that Sovereign of his great merits; and the following crest of honourable augmentation, that is to say:

'"*Out of a mural crown, a demy-lion guardant gutté de sang, grasping a sword as in the arms, and gorged with a ribbon; pendent therefrom a representation of the gold medal conferred upon him for his services at the aforesaid capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Battle of Salamanca;* and in an escrol above, this motto, FÊRE CHAMPENOISE."'

CHAPTER VI.

[1814—1816.]

RETURN FROM ELBA—INTERVIEW WITH PRINCE REGENT—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT RESPECTING NAPOLEON'S ESCAPE—RETROSPECT OF EVENTS AT ELBA DURING SIR N. CAMPBELL'S MISSION—PROCEEDS TO BRUSSELS—LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH—DINES WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON JUNE 15—WITNESSES THE BATTLES OF QUATRE BRAS AND WATERLOO—JOINS SIR CHARLES COLVILLE'S DIVISION—ASSAULT OF CAMBRAY—MENTIONED IN DESPATCHES—SIR CHARLES NAPIER A VOLUNTEER—COMBAT AT AUBERVILLIERS—CONTROVERSY BETWEEN SIR CHARLES NAPIER AND GENERAL VON GROLLMANN—CAPTURE OF PARIS—APPOINTED TO COMMAND OF HANSEATIC LEGION—RECEIVES THE THANKS OF SENATE OF BREMEN—LEGION BROKEN UP—RETURN TO ENGLAND—COMPANION OF THE BATH, AND KNIGHT OF ST WLADIMIR—INVALIDED AND GOES UPON HALF-PAY.

RELEASED from the position of British Resident at Elba by no less an event than the startling escape of Napoleon from that island on February 26, 1815, Sir Neil Campbell reached England on April 1.

On his arrival he was summoned to a private interview with the Prince Regent at Carlton House, when His Royal Highness was pleased to express in unqualified terms his entire approval of Sir Neil's conduct during the time he had been employed by the Foreign Office, as well as upon all previous occasions, when that officer had been brought under the notice of His Royal Highness, assuring him that in no way could he, as English Commissioner, be considered responsible for the unfortunate evasion of Napoleon from Elba, greatly as such a circumstance was to be deplored by the world at large.

The Earl of Liverpool in the House of Lords, and Viscount Castlereagh in the House of Commons, during the public

debates of April 7, each declared, with equal emphasis, that no shadow of blame attached to Sir Neil Campbell, whose mission on the part of the British Government had merely been to conduct the ex-Emperor in safety to his own dominions, with permission to remain there so long as Napoleon himself should desire the protection of his presence.

Lord Liverpool observed: 'As to the respectable officer to whom allusion had been frequently made in public, he felt it his duty to observe, that had he been in the island at the time, it would have made no difference, when all the power and police of the island, such as it was, were in the hands of the person whose designs he was expected to counteract. If he had suspected him, and betrayed those suspicions, what was there to prevent his being put under arrest?'

And Lord Castlereagh: 'With respect to the residence and situation of this personage at Elba, whatever may be my own individual opinion upon the subject of the arrangement which gave to him that jurisdiction — whatever objections I may have had to this settlement from the beginning, and the opportunities its locality afforded for the realisation of what has unhappily since occurred—there can, I trust, exist but one feeling among liberal minds, and that is, that when this island was given to Bonaparte for his residence, that residence should comprise the portion of fair and free liberty which was then due to a person in his situation. When the island was secured to him by treaty, it was of course done with as much exercise of personal liberty as became the compact; it was never in the contemplation of the parties that he should be a prisoner within that settlement, that he should be the compulsory inmate of any tower, fortress, or citadel; they never meant that he should be so placed, or that he should be deprived of sea excursions in the vicinity of the island for the fair purposes of recreation.

'The Allied Powers who concurred in the Treaty of Fontainebleau never undertook to conduct a system of espionage, either within or without the residence which they had ceded to him; it was never in their contemplation to establish a naval police to hem in, or prevent this man's committing himself, as he has done, to his fortunes. In fact, if they were so inclined, they were without the means of enforcing such a system; for the best authorities in our Government were of opinion, that it was absolutely and physically impossible to draw a line of circumvallation around Elba; and for this very conclusive reason—that, considering the variation of weather, and a variety of other circumstances, which could not be controlled, the whole British Navy would be inadequate for such a purpose.'

And then presently, with particular reference to the British Commissioner, the Noble Lord, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, added:

'I repeat that our Government never undertook a police establishment at Elba. Colonel Campbell was certainly there, for the purpose of occasionally communicating with our Government upon such matters as might pass under his observation both there and in Italy, where at that time we had no accredited agents: he was there at first merely as one of the conductors, according to the treaty; and I afterwards suffered him to remain between that island and Leghorn for the purpose I have mentioned; but nothing more was ever contemplated. It would have been out of Colonel Campbell's power to have attempted anything further—he could not have done it; for the fact was that, although at first treated with familiarity by Bonaparte, his visits were subsequently disapproved of: latterly he found the greatest difficulty in obtaining an interview with him, so completely did the latter surround himself with imperial etiquette.'

It will at once be seen, by those who read the Journal of

Sir Neil Campbell, how anxious and harassing had been the latter period of his mission, when, with his mind full of suspicions that Napoleon only awaited a pretext for breaking faith with the Allies, he was yet unable, with all his efforts, to arrive at any certain information, and felt himself utterly powerless to fathom the deeply-laid schemes. His position towards the ex-Emperor had completely changed since the early months of his residence in Elba, when, as the former had once said, they were together *en soldat.* For, 'suspicious of latent danger in the extraordinary reverse of his fortunes, as well as apprehensive of open attack from some of the piratical states of Barbary,' Napoleon had been at first most anxious that the British Commissioner should prolong his stay in the island. His earnest request to that effect was complied with, and Sir Neil Campbell had instructions to remain beside him.

"From this period, until the assembling of the Congress at Vienna, Bonaparte evinced the greatest predilection for the constant personal presence and society of Sir Neil Campbell; but the discussions of the Allied Powers touching his future situation, and the arrangement of the Italian States, seemed to awake his slumbering passions, and to create an extraordinary rancour in his mind. Henceforth he gradually alienated himself from the habits of intimacy he had before cultivated with the British Resident.

Instead of the daily intercourse that had existed during the earlier portion of Sir Neil Campbell's mission, when Napoleon had made a point of being attended by that officer in all his rides and excursions round the island, and had insisted on his being a regular guest at his table, the ex-Emperor now began to surround himself more and more with the courtly forms of etiquette. Becoming thus estranged—though by slow degrees, and in a manner which it was impossible to notice except silently—the British

Commissioner found that it would be necessary, for the purpose of keeping up any sort of communication for the future, formally to request interviews on all such opportunities as presented themselves, more particularly on his return from periodical visits to the continent of Italy. Napoleon would then receive him with his usual courtesy, entering into conversation with equal eagerness, and sustaining it with the same unflagging interest as on previous occasions. But it was evident that the reports which continued to reach him from Vienna, and especially a rumour in circulation that it was proposed to remove him to St. Helena, filled his mind more and more with anxiety and suspicion. Hence the doubts he constantly expressed as to whether it was ever intended to fulfil with honour the articles of the Treaty of Fontainebleau; and his whole demeanour showed but too plainly how each day he was becoming more restless and dissatisfied with his situation.

At this juncture Napoleon's youngest sister, Pauline—the greatest intriguante of her day—appeared on the scene. And from that period there was a constant influx of mysterious persons from both France and Italy, occasioning great disquiet to Sir Neil Campbell, who represented the perilous state of affairs, as well to his own Government and the Austrian authorities on the Continent, as to M. Hyde de Neuville,[1] an agent of the French King. This gentleman, on account of his distinguished zeal and ability in the Bourbon cause, had been sent to Italy, by Louis XVIII.'s confidential friends, to collect reports respecting Napoleon's position and conduct at Elba. His mission conveyed in itself an evident proof of the apprehensions they entertained, that the internal state of France and Bonaparte's situation were incompatible with the tranquillity of that nation. It was in conse-

[1] Afterwards Minister from France to the United States.

quence of the information thus acquired that two French frigates were sent shortly afterwards to cruise round Elba, although in the event, either through treachery or accident, this precaution proved quite useless, and the evil could not be averted by them.

'Can any sufficient reason'—asks Sir Neil Campbell—be alleged for the conduct of the French Ministers, who knew these things, and many others of a like nature?

'They were fully informed of the intrigues carrying on between Bonaparte and his adherents in France, for many months before he quitted Elba; some of the persons employed as active agents in those intrigues were seized upon their way to Elba, through the exertions of some of the King's household, by means distinct from the ministers or other official authorities; written proofs were found upon them, which were confirmed by their own full confessions of guilt; but so inefficient was the Government, that, in spite of the most determined efforts on the part of some of the King's friends, these conspirators were permitted to escape trial.'

In one of his despatches to Lord Castlereagh, Sir Neil Campbell had given it as his opinion, that if money were plentifully supplied to Napoleon, so as to enable him to amuse his mind by carrying out his various schemes and plans of improvement in the island, and to keep up the semblance of a Court, such as his vanity might consider suitable, he might be content to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity. But, if this were not the case, the British Commissioner considered him capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or of committing any other eccentricity.—[Despatch No. 34.]

The crisis so much dreaded by Sir Neil Campbell was not long in coming. Madame Bertrand told him the situation of the Emperor was 'frightful'—that he had scarcely a franc, and not even a ring left to present to any one of his followers, so completely had he got rid of all personal valu-

ables. England, indeed, was in no way responsible, more particularly as related to pecuniary matters, but still the state of things was faithfully represented by Sir Neil Campbell to his own superiors. No notice, however, was taken of his repeated warnings;[2] and in the end, so unprepared were the Allied Powers for the actual event, that the sovereigns and foreign ministers assembled at Vienna were still wrangling over the details of the Peace, at the very moment that Napoleon's flotilla had arrived in St. Juan's Bay! Tired out by the long war—dating back, with but short intervals, to the French Revolution—the Allies seem to have lulled themselves into a fatal dream of security, from which no watchman's voice could rouse them, until the news of Napoleon's escape fell upon their ears with the most startling shock.

'No means were at my disposal,' Sir Neil Campbell openly and distinctly stated, 'for the security of the French, or any other nation, against an invasion by Napoleon; nor for restricting him in "the free possession and the peaceable enjoyment in full sovereignty of the island of Elba" (the words of the protocol). This was the very letter and spirit of my instructions from Lord Castlereagh, their only object and meaning, and the only duty which the British Government or their Commissioner were bound to perform. The *bare necessity* imposed by the treaty would have been fulfilled in landing Napoleon on the island of Elba, from on board the English frigate, upon May 4; but the *liberal construction* of that treaty, and of Lord Castlereagh's instructions (as well as my cordial feelings of respect and sympathy towards a man who, although an enemy, had fallen from the highest ele-

[2] 'The whole correspondence of Sir Neil with the British Ministers has been seen by me, and it is but justice to say, that he repeatedly represented the difficulties of his situation, and desired instructions which do not appear to have been sent.' *MS. Letter from Sir Walter Scott.* Edin. March 12, 1828.

vation of sovereign power, and from eminent glory in my own profession), prompted me for some time to strain every nerve in promoting his comfort, as far as lay in my power, with as much alacrity and zeal as if he had formerly been my own military chief. Without that aid from me, and without a personal residence near him for several months, he could not have been fully established in possession of Elba. At his positive request, expresssd by himself verbally, and by General Bertrand in a written note, my stay was prolonged, and subsequently approved of by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent and his Ministers.'

In the certain prospect of a renewal of hostilities, the eyes of Europe turned instinctively towards Belgium, as the battlefield on which the decisive struggle between Napoleon and the Allies was destined to take place. The 54th, Sir N. Campbell's regiment, formed part of the Duke of Wellington's army there assembled, and he accordingly proceeded to join that corps. Before leaving England, however, he received from Lord Castlereagh a copy of a letter of introduction, which, after being submitted to the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, had been sent to the Duke of Wellington. It ran as follows:

'Foreign Office, May 27, 1815.

'My Lord,—Colonel Sir Neil Campbell being about to join his regiment in Flanders, it is with much satisfaction that I avail myself of this opportunity to address your Grace, for the purpose of assuring you that His Majesty's Government have had every reason to be satisfied with the activity and intelligence manifested by Sir Neil Campbell during the time he was serving under the direction of this department, as well at the siege of Dantzic, and in the campaigns of Germany and France of 1813 and 1814, as more particularly during the very delicate and difficult

charge imposed upon him, while residing near the person of Napoleon Bonaparte in the island of Elba.

'The unfortunate evasion of that person from Elba, wholly unexpected as it was, and disastrous as the event must prove to the cause of humanity, cannot, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, be attributed to any want of proper exertion and activity on the part of Sir Neil Campbell. It is not, however, judged advisable, at the present moment, to continue the services of Sir Neil Campbell as Resident with any of the Allied Armies under the orders of this department;[3] and he has therefore, in the most honourable manner, decided to return to the performance of his military duties.

'As I can entertain no doubt that Sir Neil Campbell's conduct under your Grace's command will continue, as on former occasions, to receive your approbation, I have only to add, that every mark of confidence which, in the course of the ensuing campaign, your Grace shall have an opportunity of bestowing upon him, will be highly gratifying to His Majesty's Ministers, and personally to me.

[3] Memorandum by Sir N. Campbell:

'So violent and general were those prejudices upon the Continent in May 1815, upon my return to Great Britain from Elba, that the Ministers considered it necessary so far to yield to them, as for that reason not to give me an appointment as Military Correspondent at the headquarters of any of the Allied Armies, then assembling for the invasion of France. It was feared that my presence might excite irritating discussions with me upon this subject, even among our own Allies, the risk of which it were better to avoid.

Unwilling to embarrass Ministers, whose opinions had been so unequivocally declared with the utmost publicity, and being desirous to enlarge my experience of *regimental* duties with the *British* army, after several years' absence from them, while employed upon the Staff, I immediately assured Lord Castlereagh that I was ready, nay, desirous of joining my regiment, then in Belgium with the army under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, but that I trusted such explanations in my favour would be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of York and to his Grace, as would remove every shadow of doubt from their minds in regard to my conduct while employed upon the recent mission. Lord Castlereagh acquiesced in my request, by writing in my favour to the latter, and sending a copy of the letter to his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, as also a copy to myself.'

'I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.

'To Field Marshal his Grace
the Duke of Wellington, &c., &c. Brussels.'

On arriving at Brussels, Sir N. Campbell presented himself at the Duke's headquarters. This was on June 15. The Duke was engaged at the moment, but sent a message through his Aide-de-camp, Lord G. Lennox, inviting him to dinner on the same evening, and appointing an official interview for the following day. That dinner has become famous in history—second in romantic interest only to the Duchess of Richmond's ball, which followed it.

'At dinner' (so Sir N. Campbell dots down among some hurried memoranda) 'the Prince of Orange and Marshal Blucher's Aide-de-camp called, and gave information of the attack at Charleroi. All in movement.'

The Duke was certainly so far 'surprised,' as that he had promised Sir N. Campbell an interview for the following day (June 16); but of course, as the troops marched out of Brussels towards the front during the night and early morning, his hopes of obtaining a staff appointment were for the moment disappointed.

'My friends,' he writes, 'Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Edward Barnes, and his Aide-de-camp Colonel Hamilton—the two latter I knew in the West Indies—have recommended me to remain at Brussels, or near headquarters, for a few days, when no doubt I should hear from the Duke, and they would attend to my interests, if any opportunity of reminding him of me should offer.'

With the desire of acting upon the latter portion of this advice, Sir N. Campbell at once set about providing himself with the necessary equipment; but there was so much confusion in the town, and such difficulty in even getting horses shod, that it was not till towards the middle of the day on the 16th (even then leaving his ser-

vants employed in urging on panicstricken saddlers and dilatory outfitters), that he was able to have one horse ready and to ride towards the front. At the close of the action at Quatre Bras, on the evening of the 16th, he returned to Brussels; but again set out before daylight on the 17th; from which day, until the 19th, although not serving in any official or military capacity, he followed the headquarters, and thus became witness of the battle of June 18.

After that event, despairing of finding the Duke of Wellington disengaged for a single moment, unless, as he wrote, he should 'press for an interview in a way that was not agreeable to himself,' Sir N. Campbell, upon the 19th, joined his own regiment, the 54th, which, as forming part of the force kept in reserve for the protection of the road to Brussels through Hal, had not been actually engaged in the great battle. On his reporting himself, Sir Charles Colville, the General of the Division, at once gave him the command of the Light Companies of the 35th, 54th, 59th, and 91st Regiments, brigaded together, with occasionally a grenadier company or two, and a whole regiment in support.

These troops led the advance of the army, and entered the French territory on the 20th. On the 24th they appeared before the fortified town of Cambray, and the garrison having refused to surrender, it was stormed and taken on the 25th, Sir N. Campbell with his Light Companies heading the assault.

Sir Charles Colville's despatch to the Duke of Wellington, announcing the capture of the stronghold, thus reports:

'Gory, June 26, 1815.

'I beg leave to take the opportunity of mentioning, that I feel much obliged to Colonel Sir Neil Campbell, for his conduct in closing, in the town of Cambray, with the Light Companies of Major-General Johnstone's Brigade,

and in leading one of the columns of attack. The one which he commanded escaladed, at the angle formed on our right side by the Valenciennes gateway and the curtine of the body of the place.

. . . . . .

'The Valenciennes Gate was broken open by Sir N. Campbell, and drawbridges let down in about half an hour.'[4]

For his conduct in this rapid but gallant affair, achieved with the loss of only thirty-five men, Sir N. Campbell received the Waterloo medal, it being considered to form part of the general campaign.

It is interesting to note, that the late Sir Charles Napier accompanied his old friend on this as well as on a subsequent occasion.[5]

We quote from Sir William Napier's 'Life' of his brother:[6] 'The commotion of war drew Charles Napier to Ghent, where he awaited the great impending battle, not called by duty, but seeking it as a volunteer. Napoleon's rapidity baffled all calculations, and Waterloo was fought almost before the French passage of the Sambre was known at Ghent: thus the eager volunteer could only join in the storming of Cambray. But when the British army reached Paris the French were still resistant, and Charles Napier assisted in a combat, where the superiority of the British infantry, officer and soldier, over allies and enemies, was signalised in the following remarkable manner:

[4] 'Cambray had been carried by escalade, by a bold coup-de-main, of which we saw the vestiges. The citizens, who were chiefly royalists, favoured the attack; and a part of the storming party entered by means of a staircase contained in an old turret, which terminated in a sally-port opening to the ditch, and above in a wicket communicating with the rampart. This pass was pointed out to them by the townspeople.' Paul's *Letters to his Kinsfolk*, letter xi. p. 270.

[5] 'His letters describing the storming of Cambray and Campbell's combat have been lost.' *Life of Sir Charles Napier*, vol. i. p. 266.

[6] Vol. i. p. 265.

'A large body of Prussians attempted to drive the French from a suburb, where they occupied one side of a street. For hours a fire from the windows went on, each side suffering severely, without any marked advantage to either. The Prussians were then relieved by a much smaller number of British troops, under Sir Neil Campbell, with whom Sir Charles Napier went as a volunteer. The continuous fire, before heard for hours, now ceased; but the blows of pickaxe and hatchet succeeded, mixed at times with a stifled sound of musketry and occasional shouts; and in an hour the French were driven away. Campbell had forced entry to a house on the French side, broke through the partition walls, and stormed each building in succession, thus gaining his object with a furious but calculated rapidity, and with far less loss than the Prussians had sustained without success.'

In after years this fight became a subject of controversy between General Von Grollmann and Sir Charles Napier, on occasion of a letter published by the former.

The letters of the latter in reply thereto appeared in the 'Naval and Military Gazette,' August 20 and 27, 1836. From one of these we extract as follows:

'The General says, "a reconnoitring party was despatched towards the Ourcq Canal, by whom the enemy was driven with loss from the village of Aubervilliers." Now here General Von Grollmann and I differ as to facts. I beg leave to say, that the enemy were *not* driven with loss from Aubervilliers by the Prussian reconnoitring party. The late Sir Neil Campbell was ordered to relieve the Prussian detachment with three Light Infantry Companies of Sir Charles Colville's Brigade, amounting to under 300 men. I went with him. We found a constant firing maintained by the Prussians, which fire was apparently disregarded by the French, who scarcely returned a shot. The Prussians had not dis-

lodged the latter from any part that they had occupied at the beginning of the attack, and were themselves covered by some houses and walls, from which they kept up this useless fire. On our arrival the Prussian commander gave Sir Neil Campbell directions as to what he ought and ought not to do. The Prussians had done nothing but waste powder and ball, and we saw neither killed nor wounded men; therefore, though the Prussian officer and his men were, no doubt, brave and experienced soldiers, Sir Neil Campbell resolved not to imitate their mode of attack, of which the failure, up to the period when we relieved them, was evident. We occupied the ground quitted by the Prussians. Campbell made his reconnaissance and laid his plans; then attacked and carried two or three of the highest houses; from the top of these he broke into those which were lower, but without much firing, only a few shots in breaking through the division-walls of some houses, for the French did not seem resolved on an obstinate defence. In about two hours we possessed ourselves of one side of a whole street, with a communication from house to house through the partition walls, and thus we quickly became masters of the greatest portion of the village. The French officer asked Sir Neil Campbell if we were Prussians. Answer, "No! British." "I thought so," said he, "from your different manner of attack. These Prussian fellows have been firing for hours, and could not dislodge me from a single house. Will you accept a flag of truce?" Campbell accepted the offer, as he had already possessed himself of the greatest part of the village, and we had reason to believe that a battery from the canal would open upon us, if the French were really to evacuate the post. The post they held was between us and the battery. Sir Neil reported the proposition to his commander, which was consented to, and there we remained two days and the intervening night; the intrepid, the unflinching, the indefatigable

Neil Campbell directing all himself, as prominent by his courage as by his rank.

. . . . . .

'When this officer demanded a parley, he was in a house nearly opposite that in which Sir Neil Campbell and myself were. The truce being agreed upon, we were careless in going to the windows, and a private of the 54th Regiment, standing in the room with us, was shot dead from a distant window on the opposite side. He did not make the least exclamation or motion. I never saw death so sudden; the ball passed through his brain. He was probably the last British soldier killed in that long war. All were angry; and the first proposal was to make a general attack and give no quarter; but there were present a few cooler heads, among which, fortunately, was Neil Campbell himself, who ordered all to be quiet, while he represented the case and demanded satisfaction from the French commander. The officer at once answered that he was shocked, that he knew nothing, but would go instantly to the house where the shot was fired and inquire. "If you like to do so, take vengeance on me," said he to Campbell as he ran downstairs and stood in the street. "If you doubt," said he, "fire; there is my breast," and he threw open his coat. Had the reader seen our state of excitement at the moment, he would be aware of the danger which this resolute man incurred by what he did. But British discipline is superior to human passions. When the French officer appeared, the loud voice of Campbell rang through the street: "Let no one fire without my orders," and vengeance for a comrade slain during a truce was dormant. I doubt much, from what I saw, whether Prussian discipline would be equally obedient. The French officer made the inquiry; he came back, and told Campbell that the man who fired was a young conscript; that he had not understood what was going on; that he (the officer) left the decision to

Campbell; that it was a mistake, but that he and many others then stood purposely exposed, if the English chose to avenge the accident. Sir Neil Campbell said no; that he wanted no retaliation for an error; that his handsome conduct had proved it to be one; but that he must be aware the truce was at an end lest some other accident should occur. The Frenchman's conduct was throughout brave and loyal. Both sides afterwards kept under cover till the French retired.'

No particular mention of this combat is made in any of Sir Neil Campbell's papers or letters, as though it was not specially distinguished in his mind from the numerous other skirmishes and affairs which occurred during the advance to, and investment of, Paris. But from memoranda of a previous date it may be gathered, that had he been still alive, when the respective merits of British and Prussian tactics were thus being discussed, he would scarcely have joined his old and valued friend in any depreciation of the latter. On the contrary, the terms in which he always speaks of the conduct and spirit of the Prussian soldiery are most emphatic and laudatory. And to these he could personally bear witness, as having been so long in the field with them, and especially at the battle of Brienne, where he was present by the side of Marshal Blucher himself. Thus at the period of the armistice of Reichenbach he writes, 'The Prussians are perfect in everything.' And again, speaking generally of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814: 'The Prussians under Blucher always sought for every occasion to close with the enemy, every individual being enthusiastically hostile against the French, and they alone served with feelings similar to those of the British army.'

Sir Neil Campbell's estimate of the military organisation and soldierly qualities of the Prussians has certainly been confirmed, in a remarkable manner, by the campaign of 1866, throughout which, in the opinion of competent

judges, the Prussian troops have shown themselves to be second to none in Europe.

On approaching Paris, Blucher with the Prussian army moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain, occupying in succession each height on the left bank of the river, and thus commanding the city on its most vulnerable side. While Wellington and the British, continuing their direct advance from the north, came up in face of Montmartre and the town of St. Denis, which had been strongly fortified, and were likewise protected by the inundation of the whole of the surrounding country and the line of the Ourcq Canal. However, finding that the Allies were now in full communication with each other, by means of bridges which had been thrown across the Seine, both above and below Paris, and that further resistance was hopeless, the enemy on July 3 sent to them proposals for a suspension of arms, and the consequent evacuation of the city by the whole French army.

Article VIII. of the Convention ran as follows:

'To-morrow, July 4, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the Barriers shall be given up.'

Accordingly Sir Neil Campbell writes from 'St. Denis, three miles north of Paris, July 6, 1815. Our Division occupied this place the day before yesterday. Yesterday the enemy gave up Montmartre, and this day Paris. We expect to march through the city, and encamp in the suburbs this day. What an era in one's life, even in the most subordinate situation of the army! Louis XVIII. is a few miles behind us.'

Leaving Ghent, where he had resided since his hasty flight from Paris, and following close upon the forward march of the British troops, the French King had re-

moved to Cambray[7]—well-known for its royalist sympathies—within a day of its capture by Sir Neil Campbell, and there established his court until summoned to Paris, which he entered July 8.

Ten days after the occupation of Paris, Sir Neil Campbell was appointed by the Duke of Wellington to command the contingent of troops—a body of 3000 men—furnished by the Free Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Lubec, and Bremen.

His headquarters were at the Chateau de Denancourt, near Peronne, department of La Somme; from where he writes, October 17, 1815.

'I am quite out of the *British* world here, amusing myself with my troops, shooting, and visiting. It is a fine rich country, about twenty-five miles south of Amiens. However, as I have had my Hanseatic Legion in the neighbouring villages ever since the middle of July, and they consist of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, who have never been together before, I have not been idle. The system of discipline, as regards the inhabitants, and the mode of provisioning, is very different in the Duke of Wellington's army from what they have been accustomed to. Besides, I have to carry on a correspondence with the senate of each of the states.'

From the same letter we catch a glimpse of the state of France at this period:

'The people of this unfortunate country are quiet at present, but there are so many factions, that it is only by the force of the Allies that they are kept from cutting each other's throats. When they come to know and feel the heavy contributions to be exacted from them, there will

[7] *The Duke of Wellington to Earl Bathurst.*

[Despatch.]

'Orville, June 28, 1815.

'The citadel of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th inst., and the King of France proceeded there with his court, and with his troops on the 26th. I have given that fort over entirely to His Majesty.'

probably be some outbreak. They are like the Poles, and no one can tell when or how these factions will subside.'

The appointment of Sir Neil Campbell to the Hanseatic Legion had been originally approved by the burgomasters and senators of the Free Towns in the following terms:

'It has given us great satisfaction to learn, that His Grace the Duke of Wellington has appointed you to take the command of our Legion, and that you are about to join these troops.

'Fully convinced of the good, brave, and orderly spirit of these troops, partly composed of young men related to our first families, we cannot but feel the highest satisfaction to learn that they will be led by an officer who engages himself to regulate his command, and identify himself with this corps, as much as any officer belonging to it, and born a subject of the Hanseatic Towns, and to devote all his efforts to a zealous and patriotic discharge of their duties.

'After this solemn engagement, we cannot doubt but that you will take care in having our published military laws and articles, relating to discipline and military punishment, observed; and that during the time you command and lead these troops, you will show the just and necessary regard to the military authorities of the Hanseatic Towns, in faithfully and loyally executing what they might state and prescribe.'

That this command must have imposed upon Sir Neil Campbell duties of a somewhat difficult and delicate nature may be inferred, as well from some of the expressions here used, as from the fact mentioned by himself that he was required to keep up a regular correspondence with the senators of each state. But that he was successful in smoothing over susceptibilities, is no less evident from a letter addressed to him by the Senate of Bremen, November 16, 1815, on the recall of their troops.

'Vos services, Monsieur, rendus pendant le tems de

votre commandment resteront dans le souvenir, reconnaissant du Sénat de Bremen. Il regrette, que son désir de vous conférer le grade de géneral, n' a pas pu être rempli.'

The Legion was finally broken up in December, 1815, when Sir Neil Campbell returned to England.

A short time before he had been nominated a Companion of the Bath, by his own Sovereign, and a Knight of St. Wladimir by the Emperor of Russia, in accordance with the following letter from Count Lieven, his Imperial Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of St. James:

'Londres, ce $\left\{\begin{matrix}23\text{ octobre}\\4\text{ novembre}\end{matrix}\right\}$ 1815.

'Monsieur—C'est avec bien de satisfaction que je m'acquitte aujourd'hui du soin que m'a commis Monsieur le Maréchal Comte Barclay de Tolly, de vous annoncer, Monsieur, que sa Majesté l'Empereur, mon auguste maître, rendant justice à la bravoure que vous avez déployée à différentes occasions dans la guerre si glorieusement terminée, a désiré vous en donner un témoignage publique, en vous nommant chevalier de son ordre de St. Wladimir de la 3^{me} classe. Dès que cette décoration me sera parvenue, de St. Pétersbourg, je m'empresserai de vous la transmettre, et je vous prie de recevoir en attendant les assurances de la considération très-distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

(Signé) 'LIEVEN.'

The wound which he had received from the lance of a Cossack at Fêre Champenoise having penetrated, as before mentioned, through the back to the lungs, in the course of the following year, the symptoms of inflammation returned, accompanied by a difficulty of breathing, and thereupon Sir Neil Campbell was, by his own request, invalided. Up to this period, after an active service of nine-

teen years, from 1797 to 1816, and with very brief intervals of leave, he had never before been on half-pay.

The following record, drawn up by Sir Neil Campbell himself, will fitly close the more eventful portion of his military career:

BATTLES, SIEGES, ETC.

Medal.	1809, Jan. 30 . .	Landing in Martinique. Siege of Fort Royal begun.
	Feb. 24 . .	The Capitulation.
	April 14 . .	Landing at the Saintes.
	„ 17 . .	The Capitulation signed by Colonel Madier and Neil Campbell.
Medal.	1810, Jan. . . .	Landing in Guadaloupe.
	Feb. 6 . . .	The Capitulation signed.
	1811, May . . .	Battle of Fuentes d'Onore. Blowing up of Almeida, etc.
	July . . .	Blowing up of Almeida by English, and Marches to Campo Mayor.
	Sept. . . .	Relief of Ciudad Rodrigo by Marmont, and Operations at El Bodon, etc.
Medal.	1812, Jan. 8 . . .	Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo begun
	„ 19 . . .	The Assault and Capture.
	March 25 . .	Siege of Badajos begun.
	April 6 . .	The Assault and Capture.
Medal.	July 21 . .	Battle of Salamanca.
	Sept. . . .	Assault and Capture of Hornwork at Burgos. The Siege and Retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo.
	1813, May 2 . . .	Battle of Lutzen.
	„ 20, 21 . .	Battle of Bautzen.
	Aug. to Dec. .	Siege of Dantzic.
	1814, Jan. 28 . .	Battle of Brienne, 1st day.
	Feb. & March	Affairs at Troyes, Mery, Nogent-sur-Seine, Mormant, Nangis, Vandouvres, Arcis, etc.
	March 24 . .	At Fêre Champenoise. Charge and Capture of General Pacthoud with 4000 men by the Advanced Guard.
	1815, June 18 . .	Battle of Waterloo [but not engaged].
Medal.	„ 24 . .	Escalade of Cambray.

CHAPTER VII.

[1816-1827.]

VARIOUS VISITS TO THE CONTINENT—FRANCE, SPAIN, ETC.—SPANISH POLITICS—CORONATION OF CHARLES X.—MADE A MAJOR-GENERAL—APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF SIERRA LEONE, AND COLONEL OF ROYAL AFRICAN CORPS—NOTICES OF THE COLONY—ILLNESS AND DEATH.

THE life of a soldier retired for the time from active service cannot be expected to supply much matter for record. The minute details of foreign residence, although full of novelty then—the gossip of Parisian salons, varied by occasional visits to England—anecdotes picked up at military clubs—can scarcely at this date be even amusing, much less instructive to an ordinary reader. There is no longer the same interest that attached to Sir Neil Campbell's diary and letters, as while he was writing from the scene of public and stirring events, which have become matters of history, and notices of which are interweaved with this Memoir. Our quotations therefore, for the next few years, and indeed up to the close of his career, will be comparatively brief.

However that during this period of professional ease and idleness Sir Neil Campbell's mind was still actively directed towards subjects of a military and political nature is evident from various memoranda in his handwriting.

Among other points, more or less 'suitable for these times,' he advocates the principle of 'Arbitration' in the case of all national disputes, as thus:

'There is no Utopian imagination in this, for it seems

to be an understood Law of Nations since the Congress of Vienna; and it has been partly acted on already: whereas no such principle was ever hinted at before the last general peace.

'The instances which, it is hoped, may become precedents for such a general and happy principle, are as follows:

'1st, The amicable reference which, in the year 1818, settled the difference between Prussia and France respecting the claims for debts against the latter.

'2nd, The removal of the Army of Occupation from France, effected by amicable discussion among the parties, consisting of Four United Powers on one side and One Power on the other. But the interests of several other Powers were confided entirely to the decision of those Four Powers.

'3rd, The reference by Spain and Portugal respecting Olivenza and Monte Video.

'4th, The interests of all the Powers of Germany referred to a Diet at Frankfort, and left entirely to it.

'5th, The difference between Bavaria and Baden respecting an indemnity of territory, which is left to the other Powers for decision.'

At the close of the war, and in the prospect of a long peace, there was a general rush from England to the Continent, which had been so long sealed up to travellers. And accordingly, following the fashion of the times, Sir Neil Campbell, accompanied by his brother-in-law [1] and two of his sisters, crossed over to Normandy in the year 1817. They were attracted to that part of France, in the first instance, by the hospitable invitation of two Royalist families—Marquis de Canisy and Baron de Balzac—who having been reinstated in their ancient domains were desirous of repaying the attention they had received from their British friends during the long period which had

[1] Afterwards Lieut.-General Archibald Maclachlan.

elapsed between their exile at the Revolution and the battle of Waterloo. They at any rate did not share in the opinion expressed by some fanatical friends of the Bourbons, to the effect that Sir Neil Campbell had been bribed by the Bonapartist party to wink at the escape of Napoleon from Elba!

The Marquis de Canisy, of Château Fontaine-le-Henri, near Caën, was also possessor of an hotel in the Faubourg St. Germain at Paris, and there too Sir Neil Campbell and the other members of his family were frequent and welcome guests, and enjoyed opportunities of mixing in Parisian society; in this instance, it must be added, of a very decided Royalist and parti-prêtre colour. On the other hand, at the house of their relative Mr. Drummond, the Commissioner for British Claims, they were in the habit of meeting, as upon common ground, persons of more varied opinions and general European reputation. Humboldt, Klaproth, Denon, Cuvier, Washington Irving, &c. are among the distinguished names which occur in Sir Neil Campbell's correspondence during his various visits to Paris between 1818 and 1825.

On the 12th of November, 1820, we find Sir Neil Campbell writing from Barcelona to his friend and relative Major Maxwell, of Aros, in the Isle of Mull:

'Leaving England in July last, I visited part of the Pyrenees with reference to the Duke of Wellington's last campaign, and then joined my brother at Madrid.

'We attended the proceedings of the Cortes, and observed with great satisfaction the unanimity, moderation, and wisdom with which they were conducted. They have now just closed the session, and considering the quantity of abuses, royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical, which pressed for immediate reform, in addition to casual circumstances to occupy their deliberation, it is surprising how much they have effected, particularly with a king who does everything 'against the grain,' as we say

in Scotland, and a people who have been accustomed to consider the grossest absurdities of superstitious forms as religion. The convents have all been taken possession of without any disgust being shown on the part of the peasantry. The clergy have been subjected to the laws by which the rest of the people are bound. All aristocratic and ecclesiastical privileges and immunities have been done away with. The Militia (who are the same as our Volunteers) are well organised in every town and village. The army is considerably reduced in numbers, and is now regularly paid. All the *interior* distinctions between provinces are removed, and are now only continued on the frontier of the kingdom.

'There is still a great deal to do; but I am sanguine in their gradual prosperity, although it may be slow from the ignorance and habits of the people. The Cortes do not again meet till the 1st of March, unless some extraordinary event should compel them; but there are a number of committees upon the leading points connected with political economy, which will continue their labours. A general committee also remains to represent the Cortes, although they have not the power of legislating; and as the Cortes and the Executive Government have proceeded with perfect accord, there is nothing to fear during the vacation.

'This part of Europe affords a most interesting field for observation and conjecture. Portugal, Naples, and the Roman States will sooner or later follow the example of Spain; and although the Austrians may keep down the North of Italy for a longer time with military force, this compression cannot last always. If I do not return to England for the coronation next year, I shall probably spend most of it in the Mediterranean, and make a sort of maritime tour to Gibraltar, and some parts of Africa. This is a charming city, with fine views, both towards the sea and the interior, good society, good and cheap living,

and a most equable mild climate, without extreme heat, even in summer.'

Soon after this period, and for the next two or three years, the position of Spain became the engrossing topic of political discussion throughout Europe. This was a subject in which Sir Neil Campbell appears to have felt peculiar interest, as well from having himself served in that country, as from his only surviving brother[2] just mentioned having been directly affected by the revolutionary transactions of the Peninsula. In April, 1821, while in command of a Spanish regiment at Barcelona, and acting brigadier, this officer, through the intrigues of the reactionary party, was seized in the dead of the night by a body of militia, headed by the King's lieutenant, who stated that he was acting under orders from the Captain-General of the province. It was in vain that Colonel Patrick Campbell remonstrated against such an arbitrary act, and demanded his passports for France; adding that, unless compelled by force, and taken in the character of a prisoner, he would not go to Majorca, which was mentioned as his proposed destination. The following day, in company with Baron De Eroles, General Sarsfield, and some others, he was conveyed on board a bark bound for that island, by the town-adjutant and an armed party.

[2] Afterwards General P. Campbell, R.A. He had previously served as Aide-de-camp to General Castaños at the battle of Medellin, March 28, and at the battle of Talavera, July 23, 1809, on which latter occasion he was specially mentioned in the despatch of General Cuesta, the Spanish commander-in-chief. Upon the refusal of all the officers composing the staff of the latter to carry an important order between the Spanish and English lines on account of the heavy fire, he had volunteered to be the bearer, and although he succeeded in delivering the message, it was not until his horse had been killed under him in the hazardous service. At the battle of Castalla, April 15, 1813, he had command of a Spanish light infantry regiment, and was mentioned in despatches; and he was subsequently engaged at the siege of Tarragona and in the various operations of the combined army on the eastern coast of Spain. It was for these services he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general by the Spanish Government, and had the orders of Charles III. and St. Ferdinand conferred upon him.

General Castaños, 'the hero of Baylen,' who then held command of the garrison of Barcelona, vehemently protested against this deed of violence, and publicly declared that his British friend and comrade was the victim of despotism and private malice! But he was himself deposed soon afterwards. At this period Mr. Wiseman (father of the late Cardinal) was British consul at Madrid, and on his representation an order was transmitted from the chief government for the release of Colonel Patrick Campbell. On being set at liberty, he at once sent in his resignation of the commission he had held as brigadier in the Spanish service, and although pressed by the Prime Minister, in the name of King Ferdinand, to withdraw it, immediately returned to England.

In February, 1823, we find Sir Neil Campbell writing from Paris: 'Since the beginning of the French Revolution there never was a period in which the situation of the whole world hereafter depends so much as now upon the present conduct of Great Britain in regard to Spain. The four despotic Powers (for France must now be included among them, although she has the name of a constitution) were so incensed at our dissent from their Laybach proclamation and Verona projects against the liberties of the world, that they resolved to act against ours through Spain and Portugal. They looked upon us as the root of all their difficulties, and considered that although we might see through their schemes, the dislike of John Bull to taxation and want of unanimity would prevent any opposition on his part, until they had truly Bonaparte-like occupied Spain, and turned its resources against Portugal, and ultimately against *Jacobin* Great Britain. Now the ungrateful Bourbons are defeated by the talent and spirit of our Ministers, and of all parties in Parliament, supported as they are by the universal feeling of the nation. They must now go on and run the risk of defeat in Spain, as well as conspiracy at home, with Great Britain openly

against them; or retract. Never was I so proud of being an Englishman. I am still a Tory in *England*, but on the *Continent* a decided Liberal, nay a Carbonaro and Descamozado!

'The Duchesse de Berry almost turned her back upon our Ambassador lately; but Monsieur tried to make up for it. Mrs. Fitzherbert, who lives here, told the Duc de Mouchy, that England had saved the Royal Family before, and it is she who will save them again!

'I saw the Guards reviewed yesterday by Monsieur and his son at the Tuileries. There was not a single cheer from the soldiers, nor from the spectators, except that while they were passing through the Arc de Triomphe to the Place Carousel, a few persons, who had evidently been admitted by the police within the sentries, raised a cry, but none joined in it. I stood close to the gateway while the infantry were filing into the Tuileries, and every face bespoke melancholy, in place of the gaiety which French troops usually display. Captain Napier thinks of going from this to Auxerre in his iron steamboat in a few days, and perhaps I shall go with him, returning in a week or less. This will be the first steamboat which ever went above Paris.'

Later in the year Sir Neil Campbell crossed over to England. His younger brother was to sail in the autumn for Columbia, on a special mission from the Foreign Office. A letter of October 28 speaks of his witnessing the embarkation of the latter at Portsmouth. This officer has already been referred to as a brigadier-general in the Spanish army.

On his return from Spain, he had been brought under the notice of Mr. Canning, through the favour of his warm friend Mr. Hookham Frere, formerly Minister to that country, whose military correspondent he had been in 1810; and within a year of Mr. Canning's succession

to the seals of the Foreign Office, he was appointed one of the three commissioners to the newly-formed Republic of Columbia. On April 18, 1825, he signed, in conjunction with Colonel J. P. Hamilton, the treaty with General Bolivar the President.

Colonel Patrick Campbell subsequently became Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota, in connection with which mission the following anecdote, as related by himself, may prove of interest. 'H. E., the Vice-President of the Republic, having presented me with an embroidered castle which formed one of the quarters in the arms on the banner with which Pizarro entered Peru in 1533, I forwarded the same to Mr. Canning, under the powerful feeling that this memento of the subjugation of that part of the New World could nowhere be in such proper keeping as in the hands of the great statesman to whose liberal and enlightened policy South America stands indebted for the blessings and dignity of political independence.' [3]

On Christmas-day 1824, we find Sir Neil Campbell again in Paris, celebrating that anniversary in company with his sister and a party of Scotch friends, under the hospitable roof of Lord and Lady Strathallan. Since his last visit to the French capital a new reign had commenced, Charles X. having succeeded his royal brother Louis XVIII. in the previous September. Sir Neil Campbell was presented to his Majesty on January 18, 1825, by Lord Granville, the English ambassador.

In a letter dated March 5, the name of his old friend, Sir C. Napier, occurs in connection with an interesting episode. 'I wrote you that Colonel Napier, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Corunna, and afterwards allowed to go to England without exchange, had sent me

[3] 'It will gratify you to hear (wrote Mr. Bandinel, the under-secretary to Colonel P. Campbell) that Mr. Canning has had the castle of the old flag of Pizarro put into a very handsome frame, and hung up in his dining-room.'

a Turkish sabre, and a very handsome letter to deliver to Marshal Soult.[4] I have received an invitation from him and Madame la Maréchale to a ball on the 10th instant, which I enclose. It is to be given the day after the marriage of their only son.'

During the summer of 1825, Paris was more than usually gay, and full of strangers, on occasion of the *sacre*, or coronation, of Charles X. The Duke of Northumberland[5] had come over as special envoy from England, Viscount Granville being the ordinary ambassador. 'I believe (writes Sir Neil Campbell, May 12) that in my last I gave you an account of the commencement of Lady Granville's entertainments. Her ladyship receives every Tuesday from two to five, in the house and garden, when people walk about, or sit, and partake of luncheon. Last Tuesday the Duke of Northumberland was there, and a band of music. There are invitations out for balls on Friday and Wednesday. The Drummonds and myself have ours for Wednesday. The Duke and Duchess will probably be at both. Their Graces go to-day to the Tuileries, to be presented, with all the other grand ceremonies. I must finish this to walk out, in hopes of seeing the cortége.'

[4] It was Ney, however, and not Soult, who permitted the actual release. See Napier's *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i. p. 496. Major Napier 'was returned among the killed. The morning after the battle, the Duke of Dalmatia being apprised of Major Napier's situation, had him conveyed to good quarters, and with a kindness very uncommon wrote to Napoleon, desiring that his prisoner might not be sent to France, which (from the system of refusing exchanges) would have been destruction to his professional prospects. The Marshal also obtained for the drummer (who had saved him from being murdered by a French soldier) the decoration of the Legion of Honour. The events of the war obliged Soult to depart in a few days from Corunna, but he recommended Major Napier to the attention of Marshal Ney.'

[5] The magnificent Sèvres Vase, valued at 10,000*l.*, which was presented on this occasion by the French King to Hugh third Duke, is reported to have narrowly escaped destruction during the recent fire at Northumberland House.

Sir Neil Campbell appears to have been greatly struck by the little loyalty or emotion which the event of the coronation had excited among the French themselves, although it had been so long in expectation. The temper of the people was rather shown in the numberless 'jeux d'esprit,' of which it was made the occasion. He gives one as 'a good specimen:'

> Tu vas avoir *l'Oint* du Seigneur,
> Pour remplir les espérances.
> Puisses-tu pour notre bonheur
> Être bientôt *l'Oint* (loin) de la France!

There is another letter, dated June 5. 'To-morrow I go to St. Cloud, to be presented to Madame Gontaut[6] and the Duc de Bordeaux. On Thursday the 26th I dined with the Duke of Northumberland; we were twenty at dinner, although Sir John Malcolm, another gentleman, and myself were the only strangers. Everything was very splendid, and the Duke and Duchess most amiable. There are all sorts of reports flying about here, as to the Duke being offended and going away without giving any balls. I believe they are quite untrue. He expected, indeed, to have given a ball to the King; but this is contrary to usage here, and it would also have obliged all the other Ambassadors to have followed his example and the King to attend. His Majesty will be invested with the Garter on the 7th.

'The Duke did not go to Rheims, because it was the only opportunity of leisure he could hope to enjoy, in order to see the sights of Paris. Besides, he required a little rest before the commencement of the fêtes. On his first presentation to the King, the Duke made his speech in English. After proceeding very well for some time, he came to a dead pause; but it was near the end of a sentence. After the pause he resumed, but soon became

[6] Gouvernante des enfans de France.

embarrassed again; on which the King relieved him by giving his reply. This you may rely on, as Sir George Drummond and I had it from your friend Count de Noé,[7] who was present. Everything went off well at Rheims (except as regards the affair of the carriage-horses being frightened), and even surpassed expectations; so at least the Duc de Luxembourg and Count de Noé tell me. But I have not yet seen any Englishman who was present. Sir John Malcolm and I fixed to go down together, but I abandoned the intention on account of the probable difficulty of getting back. On the 11th I dine at the Embassy, and on the 18th have a royal invitation to the Tuileries. I enclose a ticket for a fête given by the Duke of Bourdeaux at St. Cloud, which I did not make use of. There was a promenade, illuminations in the gardens, and dancing within.

'After the coronation festivities are over, I shall cross to England, and if my rheumatism returns in the winter, I shall probably run out to Colonel Napier[8] in the Ionian Islands. When the shooting season commences, I am engaged to spend a fortnight with Lord Chandos at Wotton.'

Having been made a Major-General on the 29th of May, 1825, and his health being in a measure restored, Sir Neil Campbell became once more desirous of active employment after so long a period of enforced leisure. 'I have

[7] Hereditary Peer of France, and one of the *Gentilshommes de la Chambre*. During the emigration he had held a commission in one of the foreign regiments of the British army. The well-known caricaturist, 'Cham,' is the elder son of the Count. His cartoons show, I fear, that he is less well-affected towards England than was his father, to whom his old British friends were constantly indebted for acts of courtesy and attention, in return for hospitality shown to himself in the days of exile. I well remember the Count—a most finished gentleman—as a frequent visitor at my father's apartments in the Rue Caumartin, Paris, during the winter of 1829-30, when he was always ready with a ticket of admission to some sight or court entertainment.

[8] At this period Colonel, afterwards Sir Charles Napier, was Military Resident at Cephalonia.

seen the Duke of York (writes Lord Chandos[9]); he was 'very kind, and expressed himself in particularly friendly terms about you; said you were a very deserving officer, and that your name was on the list for India.' And he himself reports from London, July 20, 1825:

'I am noted for the Staff, and have an official letter to that effect. In my personal interview with the Duke of York, I asked for the East Indies (where I have never served), and His Royal Highness said he would bear it in mind. I have another letter of his, promising to name me to Lord Bathurst as a candidate for a foreign government; and Mr. Wilmot Horton, in a personal interview, gave me to consider myself an early candidate. Lord Bathurst has also written a private letter to my friend Lord Chandos to the same effect. I am also promised the K.C.B. as vacancies occur, as well as a regiment in my turn.'

In the following year a foreign governorship fell vacant, and was accordingly offered to Sir Neil Campbell. It was Sierra Leone and its dependencies, to which was subsequently added, by the Horse Guards, the Colonelcy of the Royal African Corps. General Turner had died of fever after holding the appointment in succession to Sir Charles Macarthy, who had been killed by the Ashantees in January, 1824. The colony was universally known as the 'white man's grave.' Still Sir Neil did not hesitate for a moment. On the contrary, in spite of the earnest entreaties of loving relatives, and the warm remonstrances of all his friends, he cheerfully accepted the post, and rejoiced at the prospect of a return to active work. As for the climate, he had served three several times in the West Indies, and he persuaded himself that his constitution was impervious to the noxious effects of even a worse latitude. But at any rate, however that might be, the call of duty was with him paramount to all

[9] Afterwards second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

other considerations. So he at once set about making his arrangements for leaving England and taking up his residence (for many years as he fondly imagined) in that most pestilential of British colonies. His letters at this period show the sort of spirit with which he again buckled on his harness. Thus to his brother-in-law (Colonel Maclachlan) he writes: 'I assure you the more I learn concerning the appointment the better I like it, and would on no account exchange it for any of the minor governorships in the West Indies. The prejudice against the climate will be renewed by the deaths of two of the explorers—Pearce and Morrison;[1] but recollect they penetrated into the interior, and had to live the life of the natives, exposed to sun, night-air, scanty subsistence, &c. I am dreadfully occupied, but well and in high spirits, notwithstanding all your alarms on the subject of my new appointment.' And to one of his sisters: 'I daresay you will view the place with the same dread which prevails generally among the public. General Turner brought on his own death (humanly speaking) by over-zeal. He went on an expedition with 150 men (I believe as far as 100 miles up the river) to destroy a Negro town, and was for two days and nights in an open canoe after the vessel grounded. It is as fine a climate as the West Indies, and although there has been a great mortality there among the troops, this is not the case among the civilians if they do not live intemperately, or expose themselves to dews or night-air. Macarthy and his predecessor Maxwell were there in excellent health for many years. There are two colonial vessels for the use of the governor, besides a steamboat lately sent out, quite independent of the navy. I was offered a passage in the "North Star" frigate, which leaves the river on the 29th, but I could not get ready in

[1] Captain Pearce died at Engwa on Tuesday, December 27, 1825, and Dr. Morrison the same day at Jannah. See Clapperton's *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, ch. i. pp. 18, 19.

time, as I have a good deal to do in preparing my equipment, personal as well as for my house. Besides, I have to get instructions as to my functions, which are not only the usual ones, civil and military, but include another which is very complicated, that, viz. of impeding the slave-trade as carried on by foreigners, and establishing a system of colonisation for the captured slaves.'

Sir Neil Campbell embarked from Plymouth on July 21, in H.M. frigate 'Lively,' accompanied by his Staff, which consisted of two aides-de-camp, and a military and a private secretary. On August 4 he writes from Madeira:

'We landed here on the 1st in full uniform and with due ceremony, and at once marched up to the governor's to pay our respects. With the captain of the "Lively" and my four Staff, besides Lumley the lieutenant-colonel of my regiment, we looked very formidable! The captain (Elliott) was employed in various services the year before last in the Tagus, and he and all his officers have Portuguese orders. I and Colonel Lumley likewise wore our Portuguese medals. By a strange coincidence, the regiment stationed here is the one with which the latter served in the Peninsula!

'During our stay, I and my Staff have lived in the house belonging to Duff, Gordon & Co., and have been entertained with grand feasts daily, consisting of turtle, all sorts of wine and fruits, besides the usual dainties, so that this seems to us quite a paradise!

'To-morrow we proceed to Teneriffe, and from thence to the Cape de Verde Islands, as these are all in the way, and we may there obtain some information as to the slave-trade.'

For this latter purpose the 'Lively' likewise ran into St. Mary's, at the mouth of the river Gambia, on August 14, and remained for two days.

After a passage of thirty-three days, the 'Lively' anchored in the harbour of Freetown on the afternoon of

Tuesday, August 22, 1826. On the following morning Sir Neil Campbell landed under the usual salutes, and at once proceeded to Government House, where he took the oaths as 'Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Sierra Leone and its dependencies.'

On September 9, however, he was abruptly called away to the Gold Coast, by the report of some fighting having occurred between the Ashantees and the native tribes. He arrived there on the 18th, and writes from

'Cape Coast Castle: September 21, 1826.

'Everything here is perfectly quiet, and likely to continue so, for a victory was gained over the Ashantees by the native kings and chiefs. There were a few guns, and sixty men of the Royal African Corps present. The King of Ashantee was supposed to be wounded. Sir Charles Macarthy's head[2] and a marquee formerly presented to him were found in his camp. Colonel Purdon sent home the head by a merchant-vessel before my arrival here. I hope there will be no further trouble in the mediation, and that the country will be permanently tranquillised.

'The country about Sierra Leone is the most picturesque possible, like beautiful parts of Switzerland. While there I rode six miles to see one of the African villages, and back after breakfast, without any inconvenience.

'I do not expect to leave this for six weeks more.'

On October 10, Sir Neil Campbell paid a visit to both the Dutch and Danish settlements at Accra, on the Guinea coast, returning on the 18th.

His letters, even after a few months' experience of the colony, continue as sanguine and hopeful as ever.

[2] 'On January 21, 1824, the Ashantees defeated about 1,000 British under Sir Charles Macarthy at Accra, and brought away his skull with others as trophies. They were totally defeated August 27, 1826, by Colonel Purdon.' Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, 12th edit., Art. 'Ashantees.'

'Cape Coast Castle, November 12, 1826.

'You will be glad to hear that I have enjoyed excellent health ever since my arrival in Africa; and my firm conviction is, that the climate is fully as good as in the West Indies. On my coming here, I found that the Ashantees had returned to their own country after the victory gained over them. It was grossly exaggerated in every way, and, after the first day, no one followed them; nor since then has any one ventured to enter their territory. I hope that in future our settlements may remain neutral, and that I may be able to stay in the northern part of my government, between Sierra Leone and the Gambia. There the steamboat will be very advantageous to me, but not here. There is such a surf along the whole of this part of Africa, that a vessel at anchor rolls most uncomfortably, and only the canoes of the place can attempt a landing, except on very rare occasions.

'I hope to leave this in a week at latest, and to be about ten days on my voyage to Sierra Leone. This climate, I am convinced, is not so bad as people think, and certainly equal to the West Indies. Officers, when they come out, are full of apprehension. Some live hard in order to drown care; while others lose the only time for active exercise, which is early morning, and lay the seeds of fever by remaining in bed to a late hour. Those who survive exaggerate the dangers, in order to enhance the value of their claim for promotion.

'This is a beautiful place. A fort close to the sea in front, a town of mud-houses thatched, with a few better ones occupied by the merchants; then three towers perched on different heights; and beyond, again, hills covered with wood. On one side of the town, and about three-quarters of a mile distant from it is a lake, separated only from the sea by a beach about a stone's throw across. The lake is about a mile and a quarter in length, and half a mile broad, surrounded by low heights

covered with wood, and patches of corn land. In any other part of the world the scenery would be very much admired. The misfortune is that there is no cultivation to be perceived. The people live almost entirely upon corn, which they pound between two large stones, until by adding a little water it becomes very adhesive like pudding. In this state they boil it, and add salt. They never cultivate the same spot longer than one year, at the end of which time they go some miles further into the woods, and erect some huts, fifteen or twenty in number, in a valley. They cut down the bushes and trees, set fire to them, and a week afterwards scatter about their corn. Each stalk grows from five to six feet in height, when reaped a few months afterwards. No trees or bushes are rooted out, so that, by the following year, they grow up again, and no vestige of cultivation is perceived.

'Slavery is still universal, although there is no exportation from the vicinity of our settlements. All the headmen have their slaves, now called *servants*. They work three days alternately for their master and for themselves, and carry their corn, with a few fowls and fruit, into the town.

'I have sent home to you (by my A.D.C., McMurdo who is invalided upon medical certificate), some gold rings of a very rough kind, belonging to the King of Ashantee's wives, which were found upon the field of battle.'

Sir Neil Campbell was unsuccessful in arranging terms between the native chiefs and their great enemy, the King of Ashantee.

The 'Freetown Royal Gazette' states: 'We understand that his Excellency the Governor, immediately on his arrival at Cape Coast, assembled most of the Confederates, and proposed to give the King of Ashantee an opportunity of opening a communication, and of asking for peace; in which case his Excellency informed them, that he would mediate a general pacification, in which the Governors of the Dutch and Danish settlements very

cordially and frankly united. But such was the inveteracy of these chiefs against the Ashantees, that they would neither unite in any attempt to afford this opportunity to that nation, nor permit any person from his Excellency to pass through the cordon formed by them.'

During his residence at the Gold Coast, Sir Neil Campbell devoted himself with characteristic zeal and assiduity to the novel duties imposed upon him, such as inspecting the accounts of the civil and military establishments (for which the disbursements were out of all proportion, and in which great reductions were accordingly effected), and generally endeavouring to render the forts what they were intended for, a 'protection for our trade and for the gradual advancement of the civilisation of the natives.' With the same object in view,' 'the schools for educating the rising generation received their due share of support and encouragement.'

Another important point to which he applied himself most vigorously, was the general want of roads, and the repair of those already existing.

'There are very few roads,' he notes, 'excepting through some of the valleys close to the town, and two only extend for six or seven miles, but in so neglected a state, and so overgrown with bushes, as to be almost impassable. The mode of taking exercise is in a low phaeton drawn by four *bipeds*. Two drag the pole, and two a rope, and with a gentle descent, or along a flat, run very fast.'

From one of his letters at this period, we catch a glimpse of some of the earlier explorers of interior Africa, a ground trodden of late years by still more distinguished travellers.

'There are only two very small horses here, like Shetland ponies, only slighter. They came from Katunga, or Eyeo, where Captain Clapperton was in March last, and where the gentleman who brought down these horses left him, about 400 miles from the coast. No further accounts

have been received from or of Captain Clapperton, but there was every prospect of his joining his old friends. I much fear from an account received in May last, that Dr. Dickson and his servant were killed soon after they left Dahomey.'

Sir Neil Campbell left Cape Coast Castle on November 15, and arrived at Sierra Leone on the 23rd. A notice, dated two days' after, gives a key to the vehement complaints which were soon being directed against him from various quarters, both in the colony and at home, and were continued without stint or remorse even after his death.

'Secretary's Office, Freetown, Sierra Leone,
'November 25, 1826.

'All persons holding situations under the government of this colony, from which they derive fees of office, are hereby desired to immediately transmit schedules of the same (under cover to this office), for the information of his Excellency the Governor-in-Chief.'

He who never spared himself was not likely to allow of any malpractices, or neglect of duty, on the part of others, while too his own line of conduct lay plain and straight before him, viz. to endeavour, by every possible means, and at the risk of any personal unpopularity, to reduce the heavy load of expenditure which was weighing down the infant colony.[3]

His activity never slackened, so long as health was spared to him; but there seems to have been little time left either for letters or diary. One scanty note records, '1826 Dec^r 9 to *Wellington*,[4] and back Dec^r 11. Dec^r 13 to *Loco*, and back Dec^r 16.'

[3] 'A charter was granted in 1802 to the Sierra Leone colony; it was subsequently revised, and (with some alterations) confirmed, first in 1808, when the settlement was transferred to the Crown, and finally in 1821, when the forts and possessions of the late African Company on the Gold Coast were annexed to Sierra Leone.' Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Colonies*, 'Sierra Leone.'

[4] 'On Sir Neil Campbell's assuming the government of the

On December 20 he was seized with fever; and although, on that day month, the official announcement was made of 'the recovery of H. E. the Governor from his late alarming illness,' more than one dangerous relapse followed.

He writes from 'Kissey, near Freetown, March 3, 1827: 'I have to ask your forgiveness for so long a silence, but I have had three different illnesses, and could scarcely write till now.

'On my return from the Gold Coast, I had a great many roads and buildings to expedite, and rode a *very hot* English horse daily from four till six. On one occasion I returned in a violent perspiration when dinner was on the table, and put on an entire change of linen, just taken out of a trunk. The same thing, in the heat of summer, would have produced a fever in any country. On December 20 I was laid on my back. After being convalescent, and being able to go out in my phaeton, and to walk a few yards at a time with the help of a stick, I was seized with ague, which threw me back to as bad a state as before. Then again a *third* attack reduced me more than either of the former ones, accompanied by such violent salivation and sore throat, that for four days I was almost suffocated. Still I am convinced that climate had nothing to do with my illnesses, and no bad effects remain from these beyond debility, which compels me to lie on a sofa a great part of the day, while I dictate my despatches.

'I have anticipated every wish of the Government in my arrangements on the Gold Coast; and in this colony, too, I

colony, he formed the villages of the liberated Africans into three divisions: 1. Eastern, or River, District comprises Kissey, *Wellington*, Allen Town, Hastings, Waterloo, and Calmont; these villages lie to the S.E. of Freetown, along the eastern border of the colony on the Bunnee river and in the Timmanee country. 2. The Central, or Mountain, District comprises Leicester, Gloucester, Regent (Wilberforce), Bathurst (Leopold), Charlotte, and Grassfield. 3. The Western, or Sea, District comprises York, Kent, and the Bananas.' *Gazetteer of the World*, vol. vi. Art. 'Sierra Leone.'

have every assurance of full approbation from Earl Bathurst for all my views and measures. I feel very sanguine that the results at the end of a year will be such as to remove from the minds of Ministers and Parliament (not the West India Planters!) much of the prejudice against this noble colony which has existed, and with justice, from the gross mismanagement and expense.

'A friend in London engaged me at his house to dine there at the end of three years, but I doubt whether I shall wish to go so soon.

'This is a *magnificent* government. Two fine rivers from the interior unite near this, with the flow of the tide for sixty miles! The scenery is not inferior to the finest in Switzerland, for thirty or forty miles from Freetown; and a great part of this, which was only a horse-road, will in a few weeks be fit for a carriage. The climate is fully as healthy as the average of the West Indies.

'I have sent a medical man to make a report on the town at the Gambia, the site of which, I fear, has been badly chosen.'

On March 20, Sir Neil Campbell proceeded to inspect Sherboro', an island forty miles lower down the coast, with the view apparently of its being used as a sanatorium; returning to Freetown on April 5, and being again on the move upon the 17th, when he set out for Bathurst, which is 500 miles to the north.

He writes from 'Bathurst Town, on the Gambia,' April 30, 1827: 'I arrived here three days ago in the steam-vessel from Sierra Leone, which we left on the 17th. With the voyage I find my strength quite returned, and no illness whatever.

'In a few days I leave this again for Macarthy's Island, 350 miles up the river, in the steam-vessel; and, if the water is not too shallow, shall go higher. The steam-

vessel will afford me comforts which Patrick did not enjoy in ascending the Magdalena!'[5]

From a short memorandum in his handwriting, it appears that his purpose was carried out, and that he must have ascended the River Gambia for several hundred miles.

'May, 1827, 4th, left Bathurst; 6th, Macarthy's Island; 14th, Fatatendi; 17th, left it, and arrived at Bathurst, 31st.'

At Bathurst he remained till June 16, when he set off on his return to the seat of government.

The above was the last letter ever received by any of his relatives at home. In the autumn of the same year, after having waited anxiously for further tidings during several months, they first learned through the public prints the news of his death, which had occurred on August 14.

The medical report ran as follows:

'After a febrile indisposition of several days, against which he endeavoured to contend, H.E. Major-General Sir Neil Campbell reluctantly submitted[6] to medical treatment

[5] The reference is here to the following letter from Sir Neil Campbell's brother:—'On arriving at Carthagena from England, on the 2nd of February [1825], in order to negotiate the treaty with Columbia, I found that as the Congress then sitting at Bogota would close before the end of the month, and that every treaty required by law the ratification of that body, such ratification could not take place until the meeting of Congress in the ensuing year, unless I should arrive at Bogota very speedily. I therefore resolved to leave the large and comfortable vessel—in which were Mr. Wood, Consul to Guayaquil, Mr. Wall, Attaché to the Legation, as also my servants and baggage—and I proceeded up the River Magdalena, a distance of nearly 500 miles, accompanied by the King's messenger (Krauss), and with only my cloak, my carpet-bag, and my despatch-box in a small canoe (hollowed out of a tree) without cover, and exposed for ten successive days and nights to the effects of a tropical sun and tropical rains. The messenger suffered so much from the hardships and perils of this voyage (for we were more than once in danger of being lost on some small rapids) that he was obliged to return. I arrived at Bogota in time to conclude the treaty, and to obtain its ratification, and it was despatched to England before the end of April.'

[6] 'Sir Neil Campbell, an officer of high reputation, said to the colonial surgeon, "Doctor, there are two things I wish you to do: tell me when I am really in danger, but give me no calomel whatever."

on Monday the 5th inst., after which period he laboured under the usual symptoms of intermittent fever. On the morning of the 9th a remission took place, when H. E., contrary to the repeated and urgent solicitations of his medical attendants, entered deeply into public business of rather an agitating nature. On the same evening the complaint returned, and was followed by an alarming loss of mental power, which continued, and was accompanied by gradual sinking of the bodily powers until the morning of the 14th, when H.E. expired at nine o'clock.'

'Of course,' writes a naval officer upon the station, 'you have ere this received an account of the death of the Governor, Sir Neil Campbell; he seems to be universally lamented. Oh, this horrible climate!'

He had never, however, allowed himself to think ill of it, nor could he be persuaded to take the precautions which were absolutely requisite. 'Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with all his might,'[7] and even overtaxed his strength, both of mind and body.

An old and official friend, in a letter to Sir Neil Campbell's brother in Columbia, thus wrote with characteristic warmth and freedom:

"You may believe that I sympathise with you sincerely on the loss of your amiable brother, and my long and much-esteemed friend and playfellow of former days, whom I had for so many years been accustomed to regard with affection. His own anxious, zealous—I may add, *fidgety*—disposition has deprived his family and relatives

A few months after assuming office he was attacked with fever. The surgeon immediately gave him twenty grains of calomel (disguised), and told his honour to keep the house. Next day the surgeon saw him dressed, and out walking. But the same night he was laid on his bed, and was quickly transferred to the fatal plum-tree. Beside him lie three other Governors, the traveller Denham, Colonel Lumley, and Major Temple.—Alexander's *Colonies of West Africa*, vol. i. p. 112.

[7] 'Agite pro viribus' was his family motto.

of a name they were proud of, and his country of a valuable public servant. I assure you that that country, to whose service he had been so long and honourably devoted, very cordially and sincerely mourns his loss. He laboured and fagged himself to death in the thankless endeavour to cleanse that Augean stable. The gentleman who brought home the account of his death tells me that "he took almost every department into his own hands. The situation of clerks was a sinecure, and from sunrise to sunset the pen was in his hands. Even at his meals he was writing.'

'Some Sierra Leone merchants had waited on Mr. Huskisson[8] as Colonial Secretary, to complain of some of Neil's measures, and accusing him of harshness. Mr. H. said he was personally acquainted with Sir Neil, and that he knew him to be mild and most gentlemanlike. If the complaint was well-founded, the climate must have sadly altered a very amiable disposition.

'Some of the rascals, whose peculation and plunder of the public purse he had restrained, have attacked his public conduct in the newspaper; but they have met with severe handling, even in the papers that published their attacks on him. If you can get the "Times" of the 16th and 18th you will see his memory done justice to.'

The former of the two leading articles here mentioned concludes thus:

'We began this article by lamenting the sacrifice of Sir Neil Campbell to the horrible service which had been inflicted on him. It gives us but slender consolation to add—what is due, nevertheless, to our own personal feellings, to the friends of that meritorious officer, and to his own unblemished fame—that the British Army did not boast a soldier more intrepid or more devoted to honour

[8] The Right Hon. William Huskisson was Minister for the Colonies in Lord Goderich's Government, from August 8, 1827, to January, 1828.

and to duty; nor did society contain a gentleman whose heart was more generous, affectionate, and true.'

A letter signed 'Africanus,' commenting unfavourably on this article, while yet admitting that Sir Neil Campbell was 'a brave soldier in the field and a perfect gentleman in the drawingroom,' drew forth the following rejoinder from the 'Times:'

'We have fulfilled our promise to a correspondent signing himself Africanus, by publishing his letter on the subject of Sir Neil Campbell and of Sierra Leone.

"In noticing the death of the late Governor of that pestilential colony, we felt it a duty to truth, and to the deceased, to state what we knew of our own knowledge respecting him: 1st. That he was a most intrepid and zealous officer; 2nd. That he was a gentleman of kind and excellent heart.

'That the anger of this correspondent Africanus has been moved in no small degree by the article wherein we declared our sentiments of Sir Neil Campbell, as a soldier and a gentleman, is sufficiently obvious, without our taking the trouble to point it out. He begins his address to us by observing, that our "panegyric upon the character of Sir Neil Campbell affords a striking proof of the little dependence that can be placed on newspaper authority in such cases."

'And how does this writer bring out his proof of the fallacy with which he charges us? He talks of Sir Neil Campbell—whether truly or falsely we are indeed quite ignorant—as "being violent and arbitrary in his conduct ever since he entered on his official duties at Sierra Leone." Now, as we had not said or hinted a single word about the public conduct of the late Governor, but merely praised his private and professional qualities,—how, we should like to ask, does the writer justify the unmannerly sentences with which he has commenced his letter? Has he ventured to say that Sir Neil Campbell was *not* brave, or

not warm-hearted and honest?—that he was not formidable to his enemies, and dear to his friends?—for these were the only points of his character which we had touched upon.'

. . . . . .

With these brief extracts from Articles written by a genial and kindly though impartial pen, we close our Memoir,—adding only for ourselves, that the remembrance of the tall figure and pleasant presence of him, who has been its subject, and whose unselfish and generous nature endeared him to all, still lives on, fresh and green as ever, in the hearts of his surviving relatives, and has made this record of his 'Life and Services' a very 'labour of love.'

A monument in Kilmartin Church, Argyleshire, records as follows:

TO THE MEMORY

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, C.B.,

COLONEL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN CORPS;
GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF SIERRA LEONE
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES;
SON OF NEIL CAMPBELL, ESQ., OF DUNTROON AND OIB;
BORN MAY 1, 1776;
WHO, AFTER ARDUOUS AND DISTINGUISHED SERVICES IN THE
WEST INDIES, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GERMANY, THE NETHERLANDS, AND
FRANCE,
AT LENGTH FELL A SACRIFICE TO THE BANEFUL CLIMATE OF AFRICA,
ON AUGUST 14, 1827;
BELOVED, ADMIRED, AND LAMENTED BY ALL WHO KNEW HIM:
THIS TABLET IS ERECTED
BY HIS SOLE SURVIVING BROTHER, PATRICK CAMPBELL,
LIEUT.-COL. ROYAL ARTILLERY,
HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL IN EGYPT,
AS THE LAST TESTIMONY OF AFFECTION AND REGRET.

'Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him: but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country.' (Jer. xxii. 10.)

JOURNAL

OF

SIR NEIL CAMPBELL.

FROM APRIL 9, 1814, TO APRIL 1, 1815.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL IN PARIS—APPOINTED BRITISH COMMISSIONER—INSTRUCTIONS FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH—GOES TO FONTAINEBLEAU—FIRST INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON — TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU — VARIOUS ANECDOTES.

HAVING received two wounds upon the afternoon of March 25, 1814, at Fêre Champenoise, near Vitry, I was prevented from accompanying the Allied Armies on their march to Paris, and did not arrive in the French capital until April 9. Even then, being still unable to undertake any duty, or to mix in society, I had no knowledge of the important arrangements in progress regarding the future destiny of Napoleon, except through the channel of the daily newspapers.

I was therefore quite unprepared for a message from Lord Castlereagh, which I received on the 14th, making me the offer to accompany, in a day or two, the *ci-devant* Emperor from Fontainebleau to the island of Elba, an offer which I willingly accepted. For, although still very unfit for travelling, and that it was entirely optional with myself either to accept or to decline this duty, it yet presented so many points of interest, that I resolved at all risks to undertake it.

Upon the 15th, I received a second message to wait on Lord Castlereagh the following morning at nine o'clock, provided with my own means of conveyance, as it was intended that my instructions should then be communicated to me, and that I should proceed direct from

his Lordship's house to Fontainebleau, in company with his secretary, Mr. Planta.

These arrangements were put into execution. Lord Castlereagh delivered to me a paper of written instructions, and informed me that an Austrian, Russian, and Prussian officer,[1] already at Fontainebleau, would proceed with me to fulfil the duty explained in that paper; that the period of my stay at Elba would depend on Bonaparte's wishes and my own management; that the mission would afford me many interesting and useful opportunities for the observation of his character and proceedings, feelings and position in his new residence.

His lordship's formal letter ran as follows:

'Paris, April 16, 1814.

'SIR,—I have to acquaint you that you have been selected, on the part of the British Government, to attend the late Chief of the French Government to the island of Elba.

'You will be accompanied by an Austrian, a Prussian, and Russian officer of rank; you will act in entire concert with them in the execution of this mission, and conduct yourself, as far as circumstances will permit, with every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in that island it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection.

'Should you experience any interruption, either during your progress, or after your arrival, from any of His Majesty's officers by sea or land, you will explain to them the nature of the service with which you are entrusted, and that you are authorised by me to signify to them the Prince Regent's commands, that they do respect and conform to such orders as you may have occasion to issue in furtherance of this service.

'You will acquaint Napoleon, in suitable terms of atten-

[1] The Prussian Commissioner, however, did not arrive until early on the morning of April 17.—ED.

tion, that you are directed to reside in the island till further orders, if he should consider that the presence of a British officer can be of use in protecting the island and his person against insult or attack.

'You will correspond with me in the execution of this service, and you will address yourself for assistance, so far as circumstances may require it, to any of His Majesty's servants, civil or military, in the Mediterranean.

'You will exercise your own discretion as to the mode of communicating with His Majesty's Government.

'I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.

'Col. Campbell, &c. &c.'

Mr. Planta and myself arrived at Fontainebleau after dark on the evening of the 16th, crossing some picquets of the French Guards in bivouac, and drove up to the iron railings in front of the palace. An officer, who was called by the sentinel, immediately came out from the guard, and led us into the palace. After a short interview with General Count Bertrand, le Grand Maréchal de la Cour, he offered us apartments in the palace, stating that General Köller and Count Truchess-Waldbourg, the Austrian and Prussian Commissoners, had already accepted a similar offer; but that the Russian Commissioner, General Schuwalloff, had preferred to take up his residence in the town.

Upon our expressing acceptance of this proposal, an under-chamberlain and servants with lights attended us to the suite of rooms prepared, and in about an hour afterwards presented us with a very good supper, informing us, at the same time, that the Commissioners would be expected to breakfast next morning, in company with Count Bertrand and a few of the principal officers of the Emperor's staff and household. We were further told that the usual

hours at the palace were 10 A.M. for *déjeuner à la fourchette*, and 6 P.M. for dinner.

In the short conversation held by Mr. Planta and myself, on our first arrival, with Count Bertrand (who was very civil, but wore at the same time an appearance of great dejection), he expressed himself in most melancholy terms respecting the island of Elba; that it was very small, very barren, part of it extremely unwholesome from the exhalations of the salt-ponds, and that there was very little wood or good water to be had; that 'the Emperor' (which title appeared to be repeated with studied formality) was very anxious to quit Fontainebleau upon his journey, and to travel as much incognito as possible, but wished to change the place of embarkation from St. Tropez to Piombino, as being the nearest point of Tuscany to Elba. The reasons alleged for the anxiety to substitute Piombino for St. Tropez appeared very puerile when connected with changes of such vast importance as those of Napoleon's transfer from the Empire of France to the petty sovereignty of Elba! These reasons were that the French officer who commanded in Elba might refuse to receive us, and that while waiting off the island, until that difficulty should be removed, the vessel might be driven off by a tempest, &c. He further expressed a hope that I would go to the island of Elba, and even remain there until affairs were settled, for fear of a landing by pirates. He appeared greatly soothed when I told him that the instructions of Lord Castlereagh prescribed to me to prolong my stay, if considered necessary by Napoleon for his security.

On the following morning (April 17), the other Commissioners and myself assembled at breakfast, in company with Generals Bertrand, Drouot, Lefèbvre-Desnouettes, and Flahault, three or four other Generals of the Guards, and some junior Aides-de-Camp. As soon as the meal was finished, Count Flahault informed us individually, that the Emperor was then in the chapel, attending Mass, and

that immediately afterwards he wished to have separate interviews with each of us. General Köller passed out of the gallery, and saw him at his devotions. He described him as appearing in the most perturbed and distressed state of mind—sometimes rubbing his forehead with his hands, then stuffing part of his fingers into his mouth, and gnawing the ends of them in the most agitated and excited manner.

We were presently conducted to an antechamber, and called into Napoleon's room by an aide-de-camp, successively, in the following order:

First, the Russian Commissioner, who remained for about five minutes, and had some ordinary question put to him respecting the Emperor Alexander.

Next the Austrian Commissioner, whose interview was of the same nature and duration.

Thirdly, myself, who had the honour of remaining for a quarter of an hour.

Fourthly, the Prussian Commissioner, whom Napoleon only detained for about one minute, putting to him some very indifferent question, and then dismissing him with a cold bow of *congé*.

It was a strange feeling that came over me, when the aide-de-camp, after announcing my name, retired shutting the door, and I found myself suddenly closeted with that extraordinary man, whose name had been for so many years the touchstone of my professional and national feelings, and whose appearance had been presented to my imagination in every form that exaggeration and caricature could render impressive. I saw before me a short active-looking man, who was rapidly pacing the length of his apartment, like some wild animal in his cell. He was dressed in an old green uniform with gold epaulets, blue pantaloons, and red topboots, unshaven, uncombed, with the fallen particles of snuff scattered profusely upon his upper lip and breast.

Upon his becoming aware of my presence, he turned quickly towards me, and saluted me with a courteous smile, evidently endeavouring to conceal his anxiety and agitation by an assumed placidity of manner. He first asked me several questions about my wounds—which were plainly observable from the bandages upon my head, and my arm being carried in a sling—the circumstances under which they were received, the period and occasions of my service in the army, the particulars of my Russian orders and British military decorations, upon what claims and to what rank they had been accorded, what part of Great Britain I was from. On my replying, from Scotland, he inquired whether I, like himself, was an admirer of Ossian's poems, adding here, 'Je les aime beaucoup, car il y a quelque chose très-guerrière.' 'Oui, Sire,' I answered, 'on a dit en Angleterre que Votre Majesté les aimait beaucoup.'[2]

While speaking of my professional occupations, he was led to remark upon the war in the Peninsula, and to contrast the characters of the Spanish and Portuguese people, saying of the former, 'C'est un peuple de beaucoup de caractère. Vous avez bien tiré votre parti là.'[3]

He referred to the defences of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and St. Sebastian, to the campaign in Egypt also, inquiring whether I was personally acquainted with Lord Hutchinson.[4] He spoke of the attack upon Bergen-op-zoom as an affair which did honour to the General (Sir Thomas Graham) who directed it, as well as to the British troops; but that we were quite misled as to the strength of the French garrison, and that they were prepared for the assault, having been made aware of our intentions.

[2] 'I like them much, for there is something very martial about them.' 'Yes, Sire; it has been said in England that your Majesty admired them greatly.'

[3] 'They are a people of strong character. You have acted your part well there.'

[4] General Hutchinson succeeded to the command of the British army in Egypt, upon the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby at the battle of Alexandria, March 21, 1801, and was raised to the peerage as Baron Hutchinson. In August 1825 he became second Earl of Donoughmore.—ED.

He asked whether the great road which he had begun from Bordeaux to Bayonne was finished, and then went on to inquire anxiously as to the reports of an affair[5] which had occurred since the occupation of Paris between the armies of Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult. He passed high encomiums upon the former, inquired as to his age, habits, &c. When I described his Lordship's great activity, he observed, 'C'est un homme de vigueur dans la guerre. Pour bien faire la guerre, il faut en avoir comme cela.'[6]

His conversation turned almost entirely upon military subjects, and events connected with the British army, on which he seemed to reflect with the deepest interest; but he did not once touch upon the operations of the other allied armies.

He paid many compliments to the British nation for their union and national feelings, in which, he considered, they so much excelled the French. 'Votre nation,' he said, 'est la plus grande de toutes. Elle est plus estimée par moi que toutes les autres. J'ai été votre plus grand ennemi, franchement tel, mais je ne le suis plus. J'ai voulu aussi élever la nation française, mais mes plans n'ont pas réussi. C'est le destin.'[7]

Here he stopped short, seeming greatly affected, and the tears were in his eyes.

After a pause, he asked whether Lord Castlereagh intended to remain long in Paris, as he supposed it would be necessary for him to return soon to England to meet the Parliament, and then proceeded to inquire as to the powers vested in me by his Lordship's instructions. He expressed satisfaction at hearing that I was to accompany

[5] The battle of Toulouse, fought April 10, 1814.—ED.

[6] 'He is a man of energy in war. To carry on war successfully, one must possess the like quality.'

[7] 'Yours is the greatest of all nations. I esteem it more than any other. I have been your greatest enemy—frankly such; but I am so no longer. I have wished likewise to raise the French nation, but my plans have not succeeded. It is all destiny.'

him to Elba, if he so desired, and to remain in the island so long as my services might be required. He was anxious, he said, that a British man-of-war might convoy, as a protection against Algerine pirates, the corvette ordered by the French Government for his use; and inquired particularly what powers I would exert towards procuring such an escort, or in obtaining a passage for him, should he prefer embarking in a British man-of-war, or in case the French vessel might not be ready at the place appointed.

'N'avez-vous pas le pouvoir de me procurer un bâtiment de guerre anglais pour accompagner la corvette? Car je ne sais pas quand elle arrivera, et même je voudrais peut-être en préférence embarquer dans un bâtiment anglais.'[8]

I stated the outline of my official instructions with regard to affording him facilities and protection *after* his arrival in the island of Elba; but as these did not provide precisely for the contingencies in question, he himself, and afterwards the Duke of Vicenza[9], requested me to solicit from Lord Castlereagh exact directions, conveyed in such terms as would secure their being complied with by any British admiral or captains of His Majesty's navy, should it be found necessary to apply for their assistance.

He concluded by saying, 'Eh bien, je suis à votre disposition! Je suis votre sujet. Je dépends entièrement sur vous.'[1]

And then, having been with him fully a quarter of an hour, he made me a bow of *congé*, free from any assumption of hauteur; and my first interview with Napoleon was ended!

I wrote in the afternoon of the same day to Lord

[8] 'Have you not the power of obtaining for me an English man-of-war, to accompany the corvette? For I do not know when the latter will arrive, and perhaps I may even prefer to embark in an English vessel.'

[9] Caulaincourt.

[1] 'Very well, I am at your disposal. I am your subject. I depend entirely upon you.'

Castlereagh for further instructions, and received in due course the following reply:

'Paris: April 18, 1814.

'Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. My instructions furnish you with authority to call upon His Majesty's officers, by sea and land, to give all due facility and assistance to the execution of the service with which you are entrusted.

'I cannot foresee that any enemy can molest the French corvette, on board of which it is proposed that Napoleon should proceed to his destination.

'If, however, he should continue to desire it, you are authorised to call upon any of His Majesty's cruisers, (so far as the public service may not be thereby prejudiced,) to see him safe to the island of Elba. You will not, however, suffer this arrangement to be made a cause of delay.

'There can be no objection (if the accommodation on board of the English ship-of-war is preferable) to Napoleon being received and conducted to his destination.

'I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

'(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.

'To Col. Campbell, &c. &c., Fontainebleau.'

Immediately on receipt of the above, I made known its contents verbally to General Count Bertrand.

Soon afterwards, we, the Allied Commissioners, assembled together, and agreed to communicate frankly to each other any circumstance worth knowing, of which we might individually become apprised. It was then that I was first made aware of the exact particulars of the treaty between Napoleon and the Allied Powers, signed at Paris upon April 11, of which each of the other Commissioners possessed a copy.

The reason of my ignorance appeared to be, that the treaty had not as yet been signed by Lord Castlereagh on

the part of England, on account of certain objections;[2] and I therefore, as British Commissioner, had received no official intimation of its existence.

This treaty, composed of twenty-one Articles, had been signed by Prince Metternich and Count Stadion on the part of Austria; Count Rasomouffsky and Count Nesselrode on the part of Russia; Baron Hardenberg on the part of Prussia; and Marshal Ney and Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, on the part of Napoleon.

[2] Viscount Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst.

. . . . . .

'On the night of my arrival [April 10, 1814], the four Ministers had a conference with the Prince of Benevento on the subject of the proposed convention, to which I stated my objections, desiring, at the same time, to be understood as not urging them then, at the hazard of the internal tranquillity of France, nor the impeachment of what was due, in good faith to the assurance given, under the exigency of the moment, by Russia.

'The Prince of Benevento admitted the weight of many of the objections, but declared that he did consider it on the part of the Provisional Government as an object of the first importance to avoid anything that might assume the character of a civil war, even for the shortest time. That he also found some such measure essential to make the army pass over in a temper to be made use of. Upon these declarations, and the Count de Nesselrode's, that the Emperor his master had felt it necessary, in the absence of the Allies, to act for the best in their name as well as his own, I withdrew my further opposition to the principle of the measure, suggesting only some alterations in the details. I desired, however, to decline, on the part of my Government, being more than an acceding party to the treaty, and declared that the act of accession on the part of Great Britain should not go beyond the territorial arrangements proposed in the treaty. My objections to our being unnecessarily mixed up in its forms, especially in the recognition of Napoleon's title under present circumstances, were considered as perfectly reasonable, and I now enclose the Protocol and Note, which will explain the extent to which I have taken upon me to give assurances on the par' of my court.

'At my suggestion, the recognition of the Imperial titles in the family were limited to their respective lives, for which there was a precedent in the case of the King of Poland, when he became Elector of Saxony.

[Enclosure—Protocol.]

'Lord Castlereagh, Minister of His Britannic Majesty, declared that England could not become a party to the treaty, but engaged to notify, as soon as possible, the accession of his court to so much of that treaty as concerns the free possession and the peaceable enjoyment, in full sovereignty, of the island of Elba, and of the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.'—ED.

'*Articles du Traité entre les Puissances Alliées et Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon.*[3]

'ART. 1.—S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon renonce pour lui, ses successeurs et descendants, ainsi que tous les membres de sa famille, à tout droit de souveraineté et de domination, tant sur l'empire français que sur le royaume d'Italie et tout autre pays.

'ART. 2.—LL. MM. l'Empereur Napoléon et Marie-Louise conserveront leurs titres et rang pour en jouir pendant leur vie. La mère, les frères, sœurs, neveux et nièces de l'Empereur conserveront aussi, en quelque lieu qu'ils résident, les titres de sa famille.

'ART. 3.—L'île d'Elbe, que l'Empereur Napoléon a choisie pour le lieu de sa résidence, formera pendant sa vie une principauté séparée qu'il possédera en toute souveraineté et propriété. Il sera en outre accordé, en toute propriété, à l'Empereur Napoléon un revenu annuel de deux millions de francs, qui sera porté comme rente sur le grand livre de France, de laquelle somme un million sera reversible à l'Impératrice.

'ART. 4.—Les duchés de Parme, de Plaisance et de Guastalla seront donnés en toute propriété et souveraineté

[3] '*Articles of the Treaty between the Allied Powers and His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.*

'ART. 1.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French Empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

'ART. 2.—Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of princes of his family.

'ART. 3.—The island of Elba, adopted by His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form during his life a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent-charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

'ART. 4.—The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla shall be granted in full property and sove-

à S. M. l'Impératrice Marie-Louise. Ils passeront à son fils et à ses descendants en ligne directe. Le prince son fils prendra, à l'avenir, le titre de prince de Parme, de Plaisance et de Guastalla.

'ART. 5.—Toutes les Puissances s'engagent à employer leurs bons offices auprès des États barbaresques pour faire respecter le pavillon de l'île d'Elbe et à cet effet les relations avec ces États seront assimilées à celles de la France.

'ART. 6.—Il sera reservé dans les territoires auxquels il est, par le présent, renoncé à S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, pour lui et sa famille, des domaines ou des rentes sur le grand livre de France, produisant un revenu, libre de toute charge ou déduction, de deux millions cinq cent mille francs. Ces domaines ou rentes appartiendront en toute propriété aux princes et princesses de sa famille, qui pourront en disposer comme ils jugeront à propos. Ils seront partagés entre eux de manière à ce que chacun d'eux ait les revenus suivants:

	Francs.
Madame Mère	300,000
Le roi Joseph et sa femme . . .	500,000
Le roi Louis	200,000

[Le roi Louis a rejeté les avantages de cet article.]

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reignty to Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa. They shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The prince, her son, shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

'ART. 5.—All the Powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary Powers the flag and territory of the island of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary Powers shall be assimilated to those of France.

'ART. 6.—There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced to His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon for himself and his family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains and rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and shall be divided among them in such a manner that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportion; viz.:—

	Francs.
To Madame Mère . . .	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
The King Louis . . .	200,000

[King Louis refused his portion.]

	Francs.
La reine Hortense et son enfant . .	400,000
Le roi Jérôme et sa femme . . .	500,000
La princesse Élise (Bacchiochi) . .	300,000
La princesse Pauline (Borghèse) . .	300,000

'Les princes et princesses de la maison de l'Empereur Napoléon retiendront en outre leur propriété mobilière et immobilière, de quelque nature que ce soit, qu'ils posséderont par droit public et individuel, et les rentes dont ils jouiront comme individus.'

'ART. 7.—La pension de l'Impératrice Joséphine sera reduite à un million en domaines ou en inscriptions sur le grand livre de France. Elle continuera de jouir en toute propriété de ses propriétés personnelles, mobilières ou immobilières, avec faculté d'en disposer conformément aux lois de France.

'ART. 8.—Il sera formé un établissement convenable hors de France au prince Eugène, vice-roi d'Italie.

'ART. 9.—Les propriétés que l'Empereur Napoléon possède en France, soit comme domaines extraordinaires, soit comme domaines particuliers attachés à la couronne, les fonds placés par l'Empereur, soit sur le grand livre de

	Francs.
The Queen Hortense and her child	400,000
The King Jerome and his Queen	500,000
The Princess Eliza (Bacchiochi)	300,000
The Princess Paulina (Borghèse)	300,000

'The princes and princesses of the house of the Emperor Napoleon shall besides retain their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals).

'ART. 7.—The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000 francs in domains or in inscriptions in the great book of France; she shall continue to enjoy in full her property moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformable to the French laws.

'ART. 8.—There shall be granted to Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

'ART. 9.—The property which the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domains or as private domains, attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor, either in the

France, soit à la Banque de France, en actions des Forêts, ou de toute autre manière, et que S. M. abandonne à la couronne, seront reservées comme un capital, qui n'excédera pas deux millions, pour être employés en gratifications aux personnes dont les noms seront portés sur une liste signée par l'Empereur Napoléon et qui sera transmise au gouvernement français.

'ART. 10.—Tous les diamants de la couronne resteront en France.

'ART. 11.—S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon remettra au Trésor public et autres caisses toutes les sommes qui en auront été prises par ses ordres, à l'exception de ce qui a été approprié à la liste civile.

'ART. 12.—Les dettes de la maison de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, telles qu'elles existaient le jour de la signature du présent traité, seront payées sur l'arriéré dû par le Trésor public à la liste civile d'après l'état qui sera signé par une commission nommée à cet effet.

'ART. 13.—Les obligations du Mont Napoléon de Milan (Mont de Piété) envers les créanciers français ou étrangers seront acquittées, à moins qu'il n'en soit autrement convenu par la suite.

great book of France, in the Bank of France, in the *actions des Forêts*, or in any other manner, and which His Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be received as a capital, which shall not exceed two millions, to be expended in gratifications, in favour of such persons whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French Government.

'ART. 10.—All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

'ART. 11.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the Treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

'ART. 12.—The debts of the household of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public Treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a commissioner for that purpose.

'ART. 13.—The obligations of the Mount Napoleon of Milan towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

'ART. 14.—Tous les passeports nécessaires seront délivrés pour laisser passer librement S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, l'Impératrice, les princes, les princesses et toutes les personnes de leur suite qui voudraient les accompagner ou s'établir hors de France, ainsi que pour leurs équipages, chevaux et effets. En conséquence, les Puissances Alliées fourniront des officiers et des troupes pour l'escorter.

'ART. 15.—La Garde impériale française fournira un détachement de douze à quinze cents hommes de toutes armes pour servir d'escorte à l'Empereur Napoléon jusqu'à St. Tropez, lieu de son embarquement.

'ART. 16.—Il sera fourni une corvette et les bâtiments nécessaires pour transporter S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon et sa maison ; et la corvette appartiendra en toute propriété à S. M. l'Empereur.

'ART. 17.—L'Empereur Napoléon pourra prendre avec lui, et retenir comme sa garde, quatre cents hommes, officiers, sous-officiers et soldats volontaires.

'ART. 18.—Aucuns Français, qui auraient suivi l'Empereur Napoléon et sa famille, ne seront censés avoir perdu leurs droits de Français en ne retournant pas dans le cours

'ART. 14.—There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the princes and princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The Allied Powers shall in consequence furnish officers and men for escorts.

'ART. 15.—The French Imperial Guards shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men of all arms to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

'ART. 16.—There shall be furnished a corvette and the necessary transport-vessels to convey to the place of his destination His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong in full property to His Majesty the Emperor.

'ART. 17.—The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him, and retain as his guard, 400 men, volunteers, as well officers as sub-officers and soldiers.

'ART. 18.—No Frenchmen who shall have followed the Emperor Napoleon or his family shall be held to have forfeited their rights as such by not returning to France within three years; at least, they shall not

de trois ans; au moins ils ne seront pas compris dans les exceptions que le gouvernement français se reserve de faire après l'expiration de ce terme.

'ART. 19.—Les troupes polonaises de toutes armes auront la liberté de retourner en Pologne, en gardant leurs armes et bagages, comme un témoignage de leurs services honorables. Les officiers et soldats conserveront les décorations qu'ils ont obtenues et les pensions qui y sont attachées.

'ART. 20.—Les Hautes Puissances Alliées garantissent l'exécution du présent Traité, et s'engagent à obtenir qu'il soit accepté et garanti par la France.

'ART. 21.—Le présent acte sera ratifié, et les ratifications échangées à Paris dans deux jours.'

It appeared that all the arrangements in regard to Napoleon's journey to, and future residence in, Elba had been made between General Köller and Count Bertrand at Fontainebleau, and that the former carried on a correspondence with Prince Metternich, the Austrian Minister, then at Paris, in reference to the necessary details.

During our meeting, Count Bertrand was announced. He was the bearer of a protest from Napoleon against the

be comprised in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

'ART. 19.—The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers and soldiers shall retain their decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

'ART. 20.—The High Allied Powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

'ART. 21.—The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within two days, or sooner if possible.

'Done at Paris, April 11, 1814.

(L.S.) THE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
J. F. COMTE DE STADION.
ANDRÉ COMTE DE RASOUMOUFFSKY.
CHARLES ROBERT COMTE DE NESSELRODE.
CHARLES AUG. BARON DE HARDENBERG.
MARSHAL NEY.
CAULAINCOURT.'

[Both the English and the French copies are transcribed verbatim from Sir N. C.'s papers.—ED.]

removal of the guns and stores from the island of Elba, as directed by the Minister of War in the following orders, copies of which had arrived from Paris:

'Paris, le 18e avril 1814.

'Je vous adresse, M. le Commandant, un ordre d'après lequel vous remettrez à Napoléon Bonaparte, ci-devant Empereur des Français, l'île d'Elbe, au moment où il débarquera dans cette île. Cette disposition est conforme aux intentions des Puissances Alliées, et rien ne peut s'opposer à son exécution. Les troupes qui se trouvent dans l'île d'Elbe, et tous les effets appartenant à la France, devront être évacués, et il doit se dresser un acte qui constatera la remise de l'île à Napoléon.

'J'ai l'honneur, etc. etc.,

'Le Commissionnaire au Département de la Guerre,

'LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DUPONT.[4]

'A Monsieur

'Le Commandant Supérieur de l'île d'Elbe.'[5]

'Paris, le 18e avril 1814.

'Monsieur, frère du Roi, Lieutenant-Général du Royaume, ordonne que l'île d'Elbe sera remise à Napoléon Bonaparte, ci-devant Empereur des Français, à son arrivée dans cette île.

[4] 'If they [the French Cabinet] had been gifted with far greater practical sagacity and acquaintance with men than they possessed, they would have been shattered by the unpopularity of General Dupont as Minister of War; an appointment the most unfortunate that could have been made, for it continually reminded the army of the disaster of Baylen.'—Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. x. ch. lxxvii.—ED.

[5] 'Paris: April 18, 1814.

'I address to you an order, in conformity with which you will make over to Napoleon Bonaparte, late Emperor of the French, the island of Elba, from the moment when he disembarks in that island. This arrangement is in accordance with the wishes of the Allied Powers, and nothing must oppose its execution. The troops which are in the island, and all the stores belonging to France, must be removed, and a formal act must be drawn up declaring the transfer of the island to Napoleon.

'I have the honour, &c., &c.,

(Signed) 'Commissioner of the

'War Department,

'GÉNÉRAL COMTE DUPONT.

'To the Chief Commandant of the island of Elba.'

'Par ordre de Monsieur, Lieutenant-Général du Royaume, etc. etc.

'Le Commissionnaire au Département de la Guerre,

'LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DUPONT.'[6]

In addition to the formal note of objection, General Bertrand made several verbal observations on the part of Napoleon, stating that the Emperor would not voluntarily quit Fontainebleau, unless the demand contained in the above note was complied with; that he placed reliance upon the Emperor Alexander and the other potentates for granting his request, as the honourable execution of the treaty made with him depended upon them, and not upon the Minister of War or the Provisional Government; that the Commissioners of the Allied Sovereigns were the only persons who ought to be empowered to decide upon all the points which regarded his settlement in the island.

This communication was at once transmitted to the Allied Sovereigns and their ministers at Paris by the Commissioners. General Köller, upon whom the responsibility of the travelling arrangements chiefly rested, complained that fresh difficulties seemed continually suggesting themselves to the mind of Napoleon regarding his journey, and that every possible excuse was urged that could delay his departure, which it was considered so important should not be postponed beyond the 20th, the day on which he had faithfully promised to set off.

With the exception of this last obstacle, all seemed to have been surmounted. The line of route originally planned by Prince Metternich, viâ Auxerre, and on which the allied troops destined for the escort of Napoleon had been

6 'Paris: April 18, 1814.

'"Monsieur," brother of the King, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, orders that the island of Elba shall be given over to Napoleon Bonaparte, late Emperor of the French, on his arrival in that island.

'By order of "Monsieur," Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, &c., &c.

(Signed) 'Commissioner of the 'War Department,

'GÉNÉRAL COMTE DUPONT.'

already stationed, had been just changed, at his request, for the road by Briare and Moulins. The requisite authority from the French Government to the post-masters of the various stations along the route, to have relays of horses in readiness, had arrived, and an inspector had been appointed to precede us with orders. But this new objection raised by Napoleon seemed to render the projected start upon the 20th again uncertain. However, General Köller assured Count Bertrand that the Emperor's request would without doubt be complied with by the authorities in Paris, and that even if the answer had not arrived by the 20th, he hoped Napoleon would not alter his intention of leaving Fontainebleau that day.

Count Bertrand promised to make this representation, and we anxiously awaited the result.

During my stay at Fontainebleau, Napoleon did not leave the palace. He was constantly occupied in seeing officers who came from the army, from Paris, and from Rambouillet, where the Empress was then staying, and in making arrangements for his departure. He sent off a number of waggons with baggage, besides the regular convoy that had previously been despatched with the escort; but the chest containing the treasure of the army, amounting to four millions of livres (200,000*l.*), he kept with himself. He gave away books, manuscripts, swords, pistols, decorations, coins, &c., to different officers present at Fontainebleau, and directed others to be transmitted to various favourites. He was in the habit of receiving regularly the 'Moniteur' all the daily journals, and hearing everything that went on at Paris; and he felt very bitterly the sarcasms that continually appeared in the newspapers about himself. He seemed very jealous of the great influence that the Emperor Alexander had, by his unvarying courtesy, obtained over the minds of the Parisians.

After hearing of the visit of the Czar to the Empress Josephine, he observed to a person in his room:—

'L'Empereur Alexandre a fait une visite à ma première femme. Poh! Il a premièrement déjeuné avec Ney, et après cela il l'a visitée à Malmaison. Qu'est-ce qu'il peut tirer de cela? Il a aussi donné l'ordre de St. André à La Harpe, ce Jacobin. Il fait l'amitié au Roi. Il flatte les Parisiens et les Jacobins.'[7]

He spoke also of the Emperor Alexander's visit to Marie-Louise at Rambouillet, and said it was insulting these women in their sorrow to appear before them as a conqueror. 'C'est du Grec.'[8]

Josephine has always been a great favourite with the Parisians. La Harpe, a Swiss by birth, was formerly tutor to Alexander, and a great leader amongst the Jacobins.

After the formation of the Provisional Government, a person was asked by Napoleon what he thought of his situation, and whether he considered there were any additional measures to be taken. When he replied in the negative, Napoleon inquired what he would do in a similar situation. 'Blow my own brains out,' was the reply. Napoleon reflected for a moment. 'Oui, je peux faire cela; mais ceux qui me veuillent du bien, ils ne peuvent en profiter, et ceux qui me veuillent du mal, cela les rendra du plaisir.'[9]

In a conversation with General Köller at Fontainebleau, Napoleon remarked that he had need of more courage to live than to die; that he knew the world expected him to make away with himself; that he had put himself in the way of losing his life often enough,

[7] 'The Emperor Alexander has paid a visit to my former wife. Poh! He first breakfasted with Ney, and after that, visited her at Malmaison. What can he hope to gain from this? He has also given the order of St. Andrew to La Harpe, that Jacobin. He pays court to the king. He flatters both the Parisians and the Jacobins.'

[8] 'It is Greek-like.'

[9] 'Yes, I can do that; but those who wish me well would not be benefited, and it would give pleasure to those who wish me ill.'

particularly at Arcis,[1] where he had four horses killed or wounded under him.

This, however, does not agree with another statement I heard; for the groom, who used to follow him with led horses, told me that he only had one horse wounded there.

During the negotiations for his asylum, Napoleon desired the Duke of Vicenza to announce to the Allied Sovereigns, that if proper arrangements were not made for his security, he should wish to go to England. And afterwards, with reference to this point, he said to one of his staff: 'C'est une grande nation. Je suis sûr que je serais en sûreté, et traité avec générosité;' adding however, presently, in his usual quick and abrupt manner, 'Mais dans mon île je serai comme dans une rue de Londres.'[2]

One day, while we were at dinner, the subject of punishment by impaling, as practised in the East, was mentioned. A French officer, present at table, said that he would not like to inhabit such a country. General Drouot observed: 'Ma foi! Je ne compte pas de ne jamais le voir, et Alger aussi peut-être;'[3] alluding, I suppose, to the party being possibly captured by Algerine pirates!

M. Fourreau, physician to Napoleon, (under whose medical charge I had passed for my wounds, now that I was out of reach of Drs. Wylie and Crichton,) told me that Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald[4] were sent from Fontaine-

[1] The battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, between Napoleon and the Allies, continued for two days, March 20 and 21, 1814. Sir Neil Campbell had himself been engaged in the action, serving with the corps of the Russian General, Count Pahlen. —ED.

[2] 'It is a great nation. I am sure that I should be in security, and treated with generosity. 'But in my island I shall be as if in a street of London.'

[3] 'Faith! I am not so sure of never seeing it, and Algiers also, may be!'

[4] Viscount Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst.

'Paris: April 13, 1814.

. . . . . .

'Your Lordship has been already

bleau to negotiate with Alexander and the Provisional Government; that during the first interviews (of which they had five in one day), Alexander told them that the Allies would not make any peace with Bonaparte himself, but they might do what they could in regard to his son, or any other member of his family. After the fifth interview, Alexander changed his language, and said that Napoleon and his army were not in a situation to oppose the Allies if he refused any such terms as they chose to insist on. He then informed them of the capitulation entered into with Marmont. They were obliged to confess that they were not upon such an equality as they had supposed.

In coming out, they met Marmont. Macdonald took him by the arm, and said: 'Misérable! C'est vous qui avez empêché que la dynastie de Napoléon règne.'[5] Marmont asked him, 'How so? That he had acted for the best for his country.' Macdonald then told him that Alexander would have granted everything they asked for the Empress and her son, had he not deserted from the army. That alone prevented them from obtaining the terms they wished. Marmont's answer was (with a sudden outburst of remorse) that he would not for one of his members that he had taken these steps. 'Un de vos membres!' said Macdonald. 'Tout votre sang à présent ne peut le changer.'[6] And then he went on to reproach Mar-

informed, by Lord Cathcart, of the Act of Abdication which was passed by Bonaparte on the 4th inst, and of the assurance given him by the Emperor of Russia and the Provisional Government of a pecuniary provision of six millions, with a safe asylum in the island of Elba. The Act in question was deposited in the hands of Monsieur de Caulaincourt and the Marshals Ney and Macdonald, to be given up upon the due execution of engagements on the part of the Allies, with respect to the proposed arrangement. These persons were also authorised to agree to an armistice, and to settle such a line of demarcation as might be satisfactory to the Allies, and in the mean time prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood.'—ED.

[5] 'Miserable man! It is you who have prevented the Napoleon dynasty from reigning.'

[6] 'One of your members! All your blood cannot change it now.'

mont for his desertion—he who owed everything to Napoleon!

Macdonald related this before all the officers in the waiting-room at Fontainebleau, upon his return from Paris.

The aide-de-camp of General Köller, the Austrian Commissioner, told me that he had accompanied the Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich from Paris to Rambouillet, when they first went there to visit Marie-Louise.[7] The former never called her 'Empress' in speaking of her, but always 'Ma fille,' or 'La Princesse.' The aide-de-camp had been sent to Paris from Fontainebleau as the bearer of Napoleon's proposition that he should not proceed to St. Tropez, but go by way of Italy to Piombino.

He was directed to accompany the Emperor and Metternich to Rambouillet, with the understanding that he should receive the answer after their interview with Marie-Louise. Upon their arrival there, the Emperor was received by an antiquated, stiff, full-dressed lady, who came out from the Empress's apartment through two others, and saluted him with great etiquette. She was proceeding with a speech, when the Emperor brushed

[7] Viscount Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst.

'Paris: April 13, 1814.

. . . . . .

'To the arrangements in favour of the Empress, I felt not only no objection, but considered it due to the distinguished sacrifice of domestic feelings which the Emperor of Austria was making in the cause of Europe.

[Enclosure—Protocol.]

'The Plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon having demanded that Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa should be allowed, in full property, an annual revenue of two millions for herself and heirs, to be paid out of the funds placed by the Emperor either in the great book, in the Bank of France, in the *actions des Forêts* or in any other manner, all which funds His Majesty gives up to the crown, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts declared, that as the Provisional Government of France had refused taking, of itself, a determination to this effect, their courts had engaged to employ their good offices with the new sovereign of France, to grant to Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa such allowance.'—ED.

past her, saying in German, 'Who the d——l are you? Let me see my daughter.' Marie-Louise met him at the door. She kissed his hand, and screamed. He threw his arms round her neck, and then led her to the couch; on which the door was shut. In about half an hour, the Emperor inquired for the aide-de-camp, and told him to inform General Köller that Napoleon's proposition for going by land to Piombino could not be granted, and that if any change as to the arrangements should take place, a courier would be despatched that same night to Fontainebleau.

In visiting the apartments of the palace at Fontainebleau, we were shown a room where Josephine had begged Napoleon to spare the life of the Duc d'Enghien. After several ineffectual entreaties, she threw herself at his feet, and, clasping his leg, declared that she would not quit her hold until he had granted her request. He tore from her, exclaiming, 'Le diable! Allez, madame, à vos affaires; ne vous mêlez pas des miennes.'[8] We saw also the suite occupied by the Pope, consisting of several large apartments in the upper story.

The concierge who conducted us had been with Napoleon in Egypt as a storekeeper. I asked him whether it was true that the Mameluke always lay at Napoleon's door. He said, 'Yes, on a mattrass, and armed with a poniard.'

Napoleon experienced much heartlessness and ingratitude during his short stay at Fontainebleau. Among other instances was that of his favourite Roustan, the Mameluke just mentioned. This man, upon whom benefits of all sorts had been showered by his indulgent master, had arranged to accompany him to Elba, with the promise of receiving 8,000 francs a year as wages, with lodging, lights, and firing. Napoleon gave him leave to go up to Paris, in order that he might make arrangements for his

[8] 'Go, madam, to your own affairs; do not meddle with mine.'

wife and children to accompany him, and he then received 25,000 francs, by way of arrears. He never returned, but merely sent word that he had determined to remain in Paris. The same night Napoleon's own valet de chambre [9] went off, without any notice, taking with him 5,000 francs.

Savary, the Minister of Police, had received the sum of 70,000 francs out of Napoleon's private purse, when he was last in Paris, for the purposes of bribery and espionage in the case of any extraordinary tumult. After his abdication, Napoleon sent to desire his presence, in order that he might return the money. Savary not only refused to obey the summons, but protested that, so far from having in his hands any funds, public or private, he was, on the contrary, rather in arrear.

On the 18th, the Duke of Bassano [1] called to see Napoleon about the time of his dinner, and was invited to partake.

'Eh bien, Bassano,' said Napoleon, 'on dit à Paris que c'est entièrement ma faute qu'on n'a pas fait la paix; que je ne la ferais jamais, que je voudrais une guerre exterminatrice. Des autres vous blâment que vous m'avez soutenu dans cet avis, que vous n'avez pas voulu me donner du conseil sage. Ah! comment donc arranger cela entre nous? Eh! n'est-ce pas ma faute moi-même?' [2]

The Duke of Bassano bowed, as if to acquiesce in that which seemed to please him, that he always acted *for himself*, without any advice.

'Oui, oui, c'est cela, c'est moi-même!' [3] Napoleon added quickly.

[9] Constant. He afterwards published his Memoirs, wherein he unblushingly related some of his own rogueries.—ED.

[1] Maret.

[2] 'Well, Bassano, they say in Paris that it is entirely my fault that peace was not made; that I would never make it, that I wished for a war to the death. Others blame *you*, that you upheld me in this determination, that you were not willing to give me sound advice. Ah! How shall we settle it between us? Eh! Is it not my own fault?'

[3] 'Yes, yes, it is so, it is I myself!'

CHAPTER II.

MORNING OF DEPARTURE—CONVERSATION WITH NAPOLEON—PARTING ADDRESS TO THE OLD GUARD—LEAVES FONTAINEBLEAU—INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON AT BRIARE—INCIDENTS OF JOURNEY—MARSHAL AUGEREAU—ARRIVAL AT FREJUS.

THE eventful morning of April 20th dawned, and at an early hour all were astir in the palace. Although everything was in readiness for the journey, we felt quite uncertain as to whether Napoleon would really start. The courier had not yet arrived from Paris with the answer respecting the guns and stores at Elba. It was therefore a relief when at nine o'clock General Bertrand announced formally to the Commissioners that the Emperor would set off in the course of the forenoon.

After interviews with the Duke of Bassano and other officers, Napoleon sent for the Commissioners.

General Köller, the Austrian, was first called forward, and remained in close conversation for more than half an hour.

Napoleon spoke warmly of his separation from the Empress Marie-Louise and the King of Rome, who he felt sure were desirous themselves of joining him, and also complained bitterly of the order from the French Minister of War to the Commandant at Elba, for withdrawing the guns and stores from the island, thus proposing to leave him without means of security or defence. He said he did not wish for a kingdom; he had not asked for Corsica for that reason. He wanted no power beyond that of securing his own person against the States of Barbary, and against pirates. If he had this assurance, 'Je vivrai là

comme juge de paix.'[1] But he would not remain, unless the island were properly protected.

He had nothing to do, he said, with the Provisional Government. His treaty was with the Allied Sovereigns, and to them he looked for its fulfilment. He was not even now destitute of means of continuing the war[2], but it was not his wish to do so with certain ruin to France, and in view of the many factions among the people. His troops were as much attached to him as ever, and they would be convinced that every effort which was possible without dishonour had been made. They were not numerous, but they would support him for a considerable time.

General Köller endeavoured to persuade him that the treaty would be fulfilled with honour. 'Well,' replied Napoleon, 'but there is no answer yet; and what could be said if I refused to depart?' 'Your Majesty alone,' General Köller said, 'can decide on that point; but I hope you will follow your former intentions, and the expectations of your departure entertained at Paris. The answer will no doubt overtake us on the road, and I am persuaded it will be favourable.'

If, continued Napoleon, this treatment did not change, and if an asylum were not afforded him in the manner

[1] 'I shall live there like a justice of the peace.'

[2] Viscount Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst.

'Paris: April 13, 1814.

. . . . . .

'A convention had been discussed, and would have, in fact, been signed in the course of the day by the Russian Minister, had not the approach of the Allied Ministers been announced. The motives for accelerating the immediate conclusion of this act were the inconvenience, if not danger, of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainebleau, surrounded by troops who still, in a considerable degree, remained faithful to him, the apprehension of intrigues in the army and in the capital, and the importance attached by a considerable portion of the officers to some arrangements favourable to their chiefs, in satisfaction of their personal honour, before they left him.'—ED.

agreed upon, and understood by the treaty, he would seek refuge in England. 'Eh,' pensez-vous qu'on me reçoive?' 'Oui, Sire,' replied the Austrian; 'car comme vous n'avez jamais fait la guerre dans ce pays, la réconciliation pourrait être plus facile.'[3]

During this conversation, a knock was heard at the door.

Napoleon.—'Qui est là?'

A.D.C.—'Aide-de-camp de service.'

Napoleon.—'Entrez! Que voulez-vous?'

A.D.C.—'Sire, le Grand Maréchal m'a désiré d'annoncer à Votre Majesté que c'est déjà onze heures.'

Napoleon.—'Bah! Voilà de nouveau! Depuis quand est-ce que j'ai été subordonné à la montre du Grand Maréchal? Peut-être que je ne partirai jamais.'[4]

He felt himself Emperor and military chief to the last with all those about him, and he also appeared more and more averse to depart as the time approached.

After this Napoleon still pursued the conversation.

He spoke with regard of the Emperor of Austria, and with esteem of England, but with bitterness of the Emperor of Russia, particularly in reference to his visit to the Empress Josephine, and for taking with him the King of Prussia.

He alluded to his own projects, and the various unsuccessful negotiations for peace. General Köller, wishing to explain that the Allies had on their side made every effort to come to terms, pointed out the very favourable opportunity at Prague. Napoleon answered, 'J'ai eu tort peut-

[3] 'Eh, do you think they will receive me?' 'Yes, Sire; for as you have never made war in that country, reconciliation will become the more easy.'

[4] 'Who is there?'
'The aide-de-camp in waiting.'
'Come in! What do you want?'
'Sire, the Grand Marshal has desired me to announce to your Majesty that it is already eleven o'clock.'
'Bah! This is something new! Since when have I become subordinate to the watch of the Grand Marshal? May be I shall not leave at all.'

être dans mes plans. J'ai fait du mal dans la guerre. Mais c'est tout comme un rêve.'[5]

In this, as in previous interviews which Napoleon had held with General Köller, he expatiated largely on the danger in which Austria was placed by the enormous power of the Czar, and the false politics of Metternich, in assisting to lower the influence of France, which should be the natural ally of Austria, and act as a counterpoise to the increasing weight of Russia. General Köller replied, that 'present evils were more to be considered than distant apprehensions.' Napoleon appeared much struck by the frankness of the answer, and said, 'Je vous estime pour la franchise de vos remarques. Si vous parlez et agissez vers votre souverain avec autant, vous êtes un sujet inappréciable. Je n'ai pas été si heureux.'[6]

He again referred to the separation from his wife and child, and the tears actually ran down his cheeks. The conduct pursued in regard to them, he insisted, was cruel and faithless. The British Minister disapproved of it, &c.

He continued to talk in this wild and excited style, being at times greatly affected.

After General Köller had withdrawn, Napoleon called me forward, and was as courteous as on my previous interview with him, alluding likewise to much the same subjects as before—my wounds, the military operations in which I had been engaged, &c.

He praised the discipline and administration of the British army, as being superior to those of the French; remarked on our system of fighting in two ranks; said that corporal punishment was necessary, but should be applied as seldom as possible.

[5] 'I have been wrong, may be, in my plans. I have done harm in war. But it is all like a dream.'

[6] 'I esteem you for the frankness of your remarks. If you speak and act in respect of your sovereign with as much, you are a subject above price. I have not been so fortunate.'

Then he went on, 'J'ai été très-grand ennemi de votre nation. J'ai été franchement tel, mais je ne le suis plus. Je vous estime plus que toutes les autres nations. On me sépare de l'Impératrice, afin de me laisser à l'île d'Elbe sans défense. Si on agit avec chicane vers moi, je demanderai un asile en Angleterre. Croyez-vous qu'on me reçoive?'

'Sire,' I replied, 'je présume que le souverain et la nation agiront toujours avec fidélité dans leurs engagements, et avec générosité.'

'Oui,' said Napoleon, 'je suis sûr qu'on ne me refusera pas.'[7]

After pacing up and down the room for some time, he at length added, 'Eh bien, nous allons partir aujourd'hui.'[8]

During a short conversation with the Russian Commissioner (although he paid very little attention either to him or to the Prussian, scarcely speaking to either of them, and being very cold and distant in his manner), Napoleon asked if he had yet received a reply to the question, as to whether he should proceed as far as Elba; and being answered in the negative, said, 'Ce n'est pas de conséquence, pourvu que l'Anglais m'accompagne.'[9]

The Russian and Prussian officers had, so far, instructions only to proceed to the place of embarkation, but had written for further orders.

The Duke of Bassano, four or five generals, his aide-de-camps, and fifteen or twenty other officers, were in the

[7] 'I have been a very great enemy to your nation. I have been frankly such, but I am so no longer. I esteem you more than all the other nations. They separate me from the Empress in order to leave me in the island of Elba without defence. If they act with trickery towards me, I will ask for an asylum in England. Do you think they will receive me?' 'Sire, I presume that the sovereign and the nation will ever act in the case of their engagements with fidelity and with generosity.' 'Yes, I feel sure they will not refuse me.'

[8] 'Very well, we are going to leave to-day.'

[9] 'It is of no importance, provided that the Englishman accompanies me.'

antechamber. Upon coming out to the first room, there were only Generals Belliard and Ornano; when he arrived there, the aide-de-camp suddenly shut the door, so that I presume Napoleon was taking a particular leave of them. The door then opened. The aide-de-camp called out, 'L'Empereur!' He passed us all with a salute and a smile to the head of the stairs, descended into the court, and proceeded towards his carriage, which was drawn up between two ranks of his Old Guards, then assembled the officers and non-commissioned officers, and sending for us to be present, he addressed them in the following speech (as nearly as I could recollect the words, in conjunction with the other Commissioners):—

'Officiers, sous-officiers et soldats de la Vieille Garde![1]

'Je vous fais mes adieux. Depuis vingt ans je vous ai trouvés toujours braves et fidèles, marchant dans le chemin de la gloire. Toute l'Europe était réunie contre nous. L'ennemi, en me dérobant trois marches, était entré dans Paris. Je marchais pour l'en chasser. Il n'y serait pas resté trois jours. Je vous remercie du noble élan que vous montrâtes à cette même place dans ces circonstances. Mais une partie de l'armée, ne partageant pas vos sentiments, m'abandonna et passa dans le camp de l'ennemi. Dès ce moment la prompte délivrance de la capitale devenait impossible. Je pouvais avec les trois quarts de l'armée, qui me restaient fidèles, et aidé de l'assentiment et des efforts de la très-grande majorité de la population, me

[1] 'Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Old Guard!

'I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have found you ever brave and faithful, marching in the path of glory. All Europe was united against us. The enemy, by stealing three marches upon me, had entered Paris. I was advancing in order to drive them out. They would not have remained there three days. I thank you for the noble spirit you have evinced in that same place under these circumstances. But a portion of the army, not sharing your sentiments, abandoned me and passed over to the camp of the enemy. From that moment the prompt deliverance of the capital became impossible. I could with the three parts of the army which remained faithful, and aided by the sympathy and the efforts of the

porter sur la Loire, ou sur mes places fortes, et nourrir la guerre pendant plusieurs années. Mais la guerre étrangère et civile eut déchiré le territoire de notre belle patrie, et pour prix de tous ces sacrifices et tous ces ravages, pourrions-nous espérer de vaincre l'Europe réunie, appuyée de l'influence qu'exerça la ville de Paris, qu'une faction était parvenue à dominer?

'Dans ces circonstances je n'ai considéré que les intérêts de la patrie et le repos de la France. J'ai fait le sacrifice de tous mes droits, prêt à faire celui de ma personne, car le but de toute ma vie a été le bonheur et la gloire de la France.

'Quant à vous, soldats, soyez toujours fidèles dans le chemin du devoir et de l'honneur. Servez avec fidélité votre nouveau souverain. La plus douce occupation de ma vie sera désormais de faire connaître à la postérité tout ce que vous avez fait de grand, et ma seule consolation sera d'apprendre tout ce que la France fera pour la gloire de son nom.

'Vous êtes tous mes enfants. Je ne peux vous embrasser tous, mais je vous embrasserai tous dans la personne de votre Général.'

great majority of the population, have fallen back upon the Loire, or upon my strongholds, and have sustained the war during several years. But a foreign and civil war had torn the soil of our beautiful country, and at the cost of all these sacrifices and all these ravages, could we hope to vanquish united Europe, supported by the influence which the city of Paris exercised, and which a faction had succeeded in mastering?

'Under these circumstances I have only considered the interests of the country and the repose of France. I have made the sacrifice of all my rights, and am ready to make that of my person, for the aim of all my life has been the happiness and the glory of France.

'As for you, soldiers, be always faithful in the path of duty and honour. Serve with fidelity your new sovereign. The sweetest occupation of my life will henceforth be to make known to posterity all that you have done great, and my only consolation will be to learn all that France will do for the glory of her name.

'You are all my children. I cannot embrace you all, but I will do so in the person of your General.'

(Here he embraced General Petit, and kissed him on either cheek.)

'J'embrasserai ces aigles, qui nous ont servis comme guides en tant de périls et de journées glorieuses.'[2]

(Here General Petit presented to him the standard, which he embraced for half a minute.)

On quitting his hold, he lifted up his left hand, and added, 'Adieu! Conservez-moi dans votre souvenir!'[3]

He then turned round, entered his carriage which had been drawn up close by, and was carried off at a gallop. Some of the officers and men wept, some remained silent with grief, while others called out "Vive l'Empereur!"

The order of march was as follows:—

One dozen of cavalry.
Carriage with General Drouot and superior officers.
„ with Napoleon and General Bertrand.
Fifty or sixty cavalry, followed by the four carriages of the Commissioners, and by eight of Napoleon's carriages, which were occupied by officers of his staff and household, and by servants.

The cavalry was of the Guard, and relieved every two post-stations.

The horses (sixty) for the carriages were ready, outside the town or village where the station happened to be.

We arrived at Briare, twenty-three leagues from Fontainebleau, in the evening of the same day, and rested there for the night in a large hotel (where all was duly prepared for us), in order that some changes might take place in the arrangement of the baggage. Napoleon supped with General Bertrand; while General Drouot and

[2] 'I will embrace these eagles, which have served us as guides in so many perils and on so many glorious days.'

[3] 'Farewell! Preserve me in your remembrance!'

Lefèbvre Desnouettes, and all the officers who had travelled with us, joined our company.

On the morning of the 21st, two hours previous to our departure from Briare, Napoleon sent for me. He kept me in conversation, on indifferent subjects, until the servant had prepared the table, when he told him to lay another cover, saying to me, with a polite smile of invitation, 'Vous resterez déjeuner avec moi?'[4] There was also a place reserved for General Bertrand. He asked me who commanded in the Mediterranean. I replied that I did not know, but that I believed Sir Sidney Smith was one of the admirals. He seemed to be moved by this, but quickly laughed it off; and when General Bertrand sat down, he said to him, smiling, 'Que pensez-vous? Sidney Smith est amiral dans la Méditerranée.'[5] He then related that while on the coast of Syria, Sir Sidney Smith threw several thousand shots from his ships to the shore, without killing a single man. It was, Napoleon said, his great resource, for he paid so much to every man for collecting and bringing to him the spent balls. 'Il m'a envoyé des parlementaires, comme un second Marlbro'; mais je les ai renvoyés. J'ai placé dans mon ordre du jour que le commandant de vaisseau anglais était fou.'[6] Here he laughed heartily. 'Il a voulu me traiter tout à fait comme égal.'[7]

After breakfast, an officer named Laplace, son of a senator, was introduced from Rambouillet. He proceeded to comment on the means that were still at Napoleon's disposal—the attachment of the army, the excesses of the Allies, &c. As to the latter, he did not believe that they

[4] 'You will remain to breakfast with me?'

[5] 'What do you think? Sidney Smith is admiral in the Mediterranean.'

[6] 'He sent me challenges, like a second Marlbro'; but I sent them back again. I put in my order of the day that the English naval commander was mad.'

[7] 'He wanted to treat me altogether as an equal.'

had any idea of quitting France, in spite of all their professions.

He then endeavoured to excuse the Senate; for, situated as they were, what could they do? But Napoleon interrupted him hastily, and inveighed bitterly against them. They were dishonoured; there was not the like act recorded in history. They were not obliged to assemble, because there were 200,000 bayonets over them. They could no longer act. Their sitting was illegal. What had they to expect, too, looking only to their own interests? Ten of those very men had actually voted the death of Louis XVI. As to the military resources he had left, even after the enemy had possession of Paris, what could have opposed them? He knew the cautious operations of Prince Schwartzenberg would never have allowed him to remain between Paris and the French army, but he would have retired to Montmartre. He (Napoleon) would have attacked the Allies, and although the action would not be a victory, yet he would destroy so many of his enemy, as to prevent them from remaining so advanced. He knew well what the Russians and Austrians were capable of, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers. He would amuse them for two hours, and then advance with his thirty battalions of guards and eighty pieces of cannon upon one point, himself at the head, and he knew nothing could oppose them. After this he would increase his force by means of the population of the country, marching either upon the Loire or the fortresses. All this he could easily have done; but, he added, plaintively, it was not his wish to ruin his beloved France by a civil war. Although

'Napoleon said that Sir Sidney was a madman, and, if his story be true, Sir Sidney challenged him to single combat; to which he made answer, "that he would not come forth to a duel unless the English could fetch Marlborough from his grave, but that in the meantime any one of his grenadiers would willingly give the challenger such satisfaction as he was entitled to demand." '— Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 150.—ED.

it was but a faction which declared against him, he preferred the steps he had taken, to continuing a contest for his rights, with certain misery to his country, when his yielding could afford comparative tranquillity.

I remained during all this time, as when I was preparing to leave the room, he told me to stop. At length he said, 'Nous allons partir!' It appeared to me he had no great opinion of M. Laplace's sincerity.

The night of the 21st we slept at Nevers. In coming into the town, I heard a non-commissioned officer call out to the other soldiers, 'Criez vive l'Empereur!'

Having met at Nevers with Lieutenant-Colonel Pelley, who had been prisoner at Moulins, and was proceeding to Paris, I availed myself of the opportunity to send a despatch to Lord Castlereagh, with the particulars of our journey.

An escort of French cavalry, relieved at short distances, had accompanied us hitherto. The inhabitants saluted Napoleon with the usual acclamations of 'Vive l'Empereur!' mixed with cries of 'Vive la Mort!' In some places they allowed him to pass without any compliment, although incited thereto by the soldiers of the guard, who are cantoned upon this route. I am told that they prevent the inhabitants from wearing the white cockade, and from other demonstrations of the satisfaction they feel at the change of sovereignty.

About 7 o'clock, on the morning of the 22nd, we proceeded towards Lyons till we reached Roanne, a distance of forty leagues, where we determined to rest. Our three last stages had been performed without any escort, but from thence we were to be attended by Austrian detachments.

In the course of this day Napoleon hinted to me his wish that I should proceed in advance, in order to arrange for a British man-of-war to convey him to Elba, and also begged that I would write immediately to Admiral Emerian at Toulon, to expedite the French corvette. He

then sent off express to Auxerre, to order his heavy baggage with the escort of 600 guards and horses to go by land to Piombino, in order to diminish the distance of the sea voyage, or, if that was not feasible, to proceed at once to Lyons and drop down the Rhone.

At night the Austrian officer who had been sent to Paris with the note containing Napoleon's protest against the removal of the guns and stores from the island of Elba, overtook us with the decision of the Allied Sovereigns, acquiescing in his demand.

Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch were in the neighbourhood of Roanne, at a château belonging to the latter, about a mile off the road, but we could not learn that they had any communication with Napoleon.

At the moment of quitting Roanne, on the morning of the 23rd, Napoleon (as I expected from his hint on the previous day) requested me to proceed, if possible, without a halt to Aix, and from thence to transmit through Marshal Masséna an application to the admiral commanding off Toulon for a British ship-of-war. The reason alleged for preferring this to a French vessel was, to avoid any unpleasant observations which might be made by the crew of the latter. It was my wish to obtain this demand in writing, but as Napoleon immediately stepped into his carriage, I had no opportunity of doing so.

In the course of this journey, while in advance of the cortége, at a short distance from Valence, I met Augereau, and told him that Napoleon was coming on. He appeared to be disconcerted, thinking that Napoleon was to pursue the other road by Grenoble. He abused Napoleon's ambition and waste of blood for personal vanity. He did not show himself at last, as he ought to have done, and as many expected. 'C'est un lâche! Je l'ai cru toujours tel. Il aurait dû marcher sur une batterie, et se faire tuer.'[8]

[8] 'He is a coward! I always thought him such. He ought to have marched full upon a battery, and put an end to himself.'

Augereau showed me that he had taken off all his orders, and simply wore the red ribbon of the Legion of Honour. He said that if Napoleon gave him an opportunity, he would tell him his mind.

Hearing at Aix that a British ship was at Marseilles, I proceeded there, arriving on the 25th, and found H. M. frigate 'Undaunted,' commanded by Captain Usher, who immediately complied with my application that he should proceed to Frejus Bay, either to convoy or to carry Napoleon to Elba. On his way (as I afterwards heard) he fell in with Admiral Sir R. King, who approved of the step he had taken, and gave him a written order to execute the service.

I then returned to Aix, and from thence went on to Frejus, which I reached at 7 A.M. on the 27th. At 10 A.M. Napoleon and his suite arrived. They had rested for some hours at the residence of the Princess Pauline, which was near the town. She had been there for some weeks past, and proposed soon to follow her brother to the island of Elba.

After I parted from them at Roanne, the Commissioners informed me they had met Augereau. It was on the road between Lyons and Valence. When his carriage approached, Napoleon and he both stopped, alighted, and embraced. Napoleon pulled off his hat, but Augereau only touched the forage-cap which he wore, and scarcely returned the embrace. They walked aside, and conversed for about ten minutes. The dialogue seemed to become more earnest as it drew to a conclusion. Napoleon embraced and saluted before parting, but Augereau returned the compliment in a cold and formal manner.

The enmity of the inhabitants against Napoleon increased in violence as he travelled southwards. This feeling was not confined to the lower orders only. All classes and ages, and both sexes, united in cries of hatred and insult.

At Orange the women and boys climbed upon the carriage, and it was with difficulty that the Commissioners and attendants forced them off, there being at that point of the journey no escort. They called out the most opprobrious epithets, and with shouts of derision and excited gestures exclaimed, 'Nous ne ferons pas de mal au monstre, mais nous voulons seulement lui montrer combien nous l'aimons.'[9] Meanwhile Napoleon sat within the carriage with General Bertrand, apparently very much frightened, without attempting to stir from the corner. Several large stones were thrown at the carriage, but happily without effect. As soon as the carriages were able to force their way through the crowd of assailants, the post-boys set off at full speed, and when they had got to a safe distance from the town, Napoleon quitted his carriage, mounted one of the horses, and, dressed in a plain great coat, wearing too a Russian cloak and a common round hat with a white cockade, rode on in advance of the carriages, accompanied only by a courier. He related that when he arrived at the first post-house in his disguise, he held a conversation with the landlady, who enquired of him when Napoleon would pass, and abused him. When the rest of the party came up, and found Napoleon already there, General Bertrand requested that no sort of compliments might be paid which could possibly lead to the Emperor's being recognised at the inn. The Commissioners remarked that he threw the wine out of his glass, and that he neither swallowed his soup nor ate any meat. During the remainder of the journey he changed caps and coats with the Commissioners, assumed alternately the names of Colonel Campbell and Lord Burghersh, mixed with the members of his household in going in and out of the room, and his carriage did not, as heretofore, occupy the place of honour in the procession.

[9] 'We will do no harm to the monster, but we only want to show him how much we love him.'

Upon every occasion he evinced, by the finesse to which he had recourse, much anxiety to save his life, whenever he considered it to be in danger.[1]

At Avignon some carriages which preceded with officers of the household were stopped, and the eagles defaced. One of the servants was threatened with instant death if he did not call out 'Vive le Roi!' It was Sunday. The people had a fête to celebrate the accession of Louis XVIII.; and as many of them were intoxicated, had Napoleon himself been there, he would certainly have been killed. He however passed quietly the following day, by going round the town, and changing horses outside.

At Orgon an effigy was prepared in uniform, representing Napoleon, smeared all over with blood, and placarded with the words, 'Voilà donc l'odieux tyran! Tôt ou tard le crime est puni.'[2]

The place of embarkation had been changed from St. Tropez to Frejus, in consequence of the latter being easier to approach by land; and as they were both situated in the same bay, this deviation was considered admissible by the Commissioners.

Soon after Napoleon's arrival at Frejus, the following paper was put into my hands:—

'*Note pour le Colonel Campbell, Commissaire de S. M. britannique, adressée par le Comte Bertrand.*[3]

'L'Empereur Napoléon désirerait connaître quel est le pavillon de l'île d'Elbe, pour le faire arborer dans l'île.

[1] 'Bonaparte was still at Fontainebleau when we came to Paris, and Lord Castlereagh had daily reports from Sir Neil Campbell (the English officer appointed to attend him to Elba) of his conduct while there, and on his journey to Cannes. All his courage and nerve seemed to have forsaken him; so much so that in one part, where he believed the inhabitants were Bourbonists, he actually rode as courier ahead of his own carriage, with a round livery hat and white cockade on his head.'—*Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian*, p. 79.—ED.

[2] 'There, then, is the hateful tyrant! Sooner or later crime is punished.'

[3] 'The Emperor Napoleon would wish to know which is the proper flag of the island of Elba, in order that

Il en serait dressé procès-verbal par le Colonel Campbell et MM. les Commissaires. Cela serait envoyé à la croisière anglaise à Livourne, et là où il serait nécessaire.

'La Princesse Pauline, sœur de l'Empereur, désire venir à l'île d'Elbe, mais comme elle est incommodée, elle ne peut partir de Fréjus que dans cinq ou six jours. S. M. désirerait qu'une frégate anglaise vînt la prendre et la conduire dans l'île.

'Les équipages de l'Empereur et le bataillon d'escorte doivent arriver le 30e à Lyon. Il serait à désirer qu'on le dirigeât par le Mont Cenis sur Savone, où on les embarquerait. Si l'amiral anglais veut pousser la complaisance jusqu'à charger une frégate de ce transport, on enverrait des ordres à Lyon pour que les équipages se dirigeassent en conséquence. Ils arriveraient le 19 mai à Savone. On joint ici l'état des personnes, chevaux et voitures à embarquer.

'Si la frégate pouvait se faire rallier de quelque aviso ou brick, cela serait une chose agréable.

'L'Empereur désirerait, quand nous sommes à la hauteur de Livourne, expédier quelqu'un de sa maison pour faire quelques emplettes et porter une lettre au Roi

it may be hoisted in the island. In testimony thereof, a procès-verbal shall be drawn up by Colonel Campbell and the other Commissioners. It shall be sent to the English cruising-ground at Leghorn, and wherever else may be necessary.

'The Princess Paulina, sister of the Emperor, is anxious to come to the island of Elba, but as she is indisposed she cannot leave Frejus for five or six days. H. M. would wish for an English frigate to come and fetch her, and convey her to the island.

'The equipages of the Emperor and the battalion of escort ought to arrive at Lyons on the 30th. It is desirable that they should be directed by Mount Cenis upon Savona, where they will be embarked. If the English Admiral would be so far obliging as to charge a frigate with their transport, orders shall be sent to Lyons, in order that the equipages may arrange their route accordingly. They will arrive at Savona on the 19th of May. There is attached hereto a return of persons, horses, and carriages to be embarked.

'If the frigate could attach to itself some despatch-boat or brig, it would be a convenience.

'The Emperor would wish, when we are off Leghorn, to despatch some

de Naples. Cette recommandation sera très-pressée, vu que l'Empereur n'a rien de ce qui pourrait lui être commode à l'île d'Elbe, et que le Roi de Naples pourrait lui envoyer beaucoup de choses. Le Général Köller pourrait charger un officier autrichien d'accompagner la personne que l'Empereur enverrait.

'L'Empereur désirerait faire partir le Général Drouot, avec le Colonel Clam[4] et un officier anglais, pour prendre possession de l'île d'Elbe. Il faudrait pour cela un aviso, afin qu'ils puissent arriver vingt-quatre heures avant nous, de manière que l'Empereur débarquerait dans l'île lorsqu'il en aurait déjà pris possession en son nom.

'La Garde de l'Empereur ne devant arriver que dans quelque temps à l'île d'Elbe, il serait possible que l'Empereur eût besoin dans les premiers jours d'une centaine de marins anglais pour la garder. L'Empereur désirerait savoir, si au besoin il peut compter sur cela.

(Signé) 'LE COMTE BERTRAND.

'Fréjus : le 27e avril 1814.'

'État des troupes, chevaux et voitures composant la

one of his household to make some purchases, and be the bearer of a letter to the King of Naples. This latter request is of a very pressing character, seeing that the Emperor has nothing of any sort which can be suitable for his use in the island of Elba, and that the King of Naples will be able to send him many articles. General Köller can, if he so pleases, commission an Austrian officer to accompany the person who may be sent by the Emperor.

'The Emperor would wish to expedite the departure of General Drouot, in company with Count Clam and an English officer, to take possession of the island of Elba. For that there will be required a despatch-boat, in order that they may arrive twenty-four hours before us, so that the Emperor will be able to disembark subsequently to the island having been taken possession of in his name.

'The Guard of the Emperor not being expected to arrive for some time in the island of Elba, it is possible that the Emperor may require, in the early period of his residence there, a body of one hundred English marines for its protection. The Emperor wishes to know whether in case of necessity he can depend upon that.

(Signed) 'LE COMTE BERTRAND.'

[4] Aide-de-camp du Prince Schwartzenberg, qui accompagnait le commissaire autrichien.

colonne du Général Cambronne, et destinés à être embarqués à Savone pour se rendre à l'île d'Elbe:—

	Hommes.	Chevaux.	Voitures.
Fourgons . . .			8
Voitures . . .			8
Chevaux de selle . .		18	
Chevaux de voiture . .		24	
Mulets . . .		5	
Gens de la maison .	35		
Cavalerie . .	80	80	
Infanterie . . .	600		
Total . . .	715	127	16

In consequence of Napoleon's request, as above stated, the other Commissioners and myself held a meeting, and drew up the two following documents: the one being a letter addressed to the commandant at Elba, enclosing Count Dupont's order with reference to the guns and stores; the other accrediting Count Clam as the bearer of our despatch, and authorising him to proceed with it immediately to the island.

At first I felt some reluctance in affixing my signature to these documents, inasmuch as they were founded upon a treaty which had never been *formally* exhibited to me, and as to which I had received *no* instructions from Lord Castlereagh.[5] But as my refusal would have prevented

[5] As a fact, it was not till this very day, April 27, that Lord Castlereagh gave a qualified accession to certain portions of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

[Enclosure.]

'Whereas their Imperial and Royal Majesties, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, have entered into a treaty, concluded at Paris on the 11th of April of the present year, for the purpose of granting, for such respective periods as in the said treaty are mentioned, to the person and family of Napoleon Bonaparte, the possession in sovereignty of the island of Elba and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, for other purposes, which treaty has been communicated to the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the Ministers of their Imperial and Royal Majesties the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, who, in the name of their respective sovereigns have jointly invited the Prince Regent

the embarkation of Napoleon, and put a stop to the whole of the proceedings connected with it, I considered it my duty not to offer any further objection. This course appeared to me consistent with the spirit of my instructions, and there was likewise no possibility of evading the difficulty by delay.

'(I.)

'Nous soussignés, Commissaires des Hautes Puissances Alliées, chargés d'accompagner Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon dans son voyage, autorisons par la présente Monsieur le Comte de Clam, Chambellan de S. M. l'Empereur d'Autriche, Major et Aide-de-camp du Maréchal Prince de Schwartzenberg, Chevalier de l'Ordre Impérial de Russie de Ste. Anne de la seconde classe et de l'Ordre Militaire de Bavière de Max-Joseph, de se rendre de suite à la dite île d'Elbe, de remettre au Commandant Supérieur de l'île l'ordre du Ministre de la Guerre, en conséquence duquel la dite île doit être remise à S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon en toute souveraineté et propriété, ainsi que le matériel d'artillerie et les munitions de guerre qui s'y trouvent, d'assister à la remise de cette île entre les mains de Monsieur le Général de Division Comte Drouot, nommé de la part de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, en qualité de Commissaire à cet effet, et d'en dresser procès-verbal.

'Fait à Fréjus, le 27e avril 1814.

to accede to the same, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty:

'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having full knowledge of the contents of the said treaty, accedes to the same in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, as far as respects the stipulations relative to the possession in sovereignty of the island of Elba and also of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. But His Royal Highness is not to be considered, by this act of accession, to have become a party, in the name of His Majesty, to any of the other provisions and stipulations contained therein.

'Given under my hand and seal, at Paris, this 27th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1814.

'By command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.'—ED.

'(II.)

'Les Commissaires des Hautes Puissances Alliées soussignés ont l'honneur d'envoyer à Monsieur le Général François, Commandant de l'île d'Elbe, les ordres du Ministre de la Guerre pour que la dite île, tout le matériel d'artillerie et toutes les munitions de guerre, qui y existent actuellement, soient remis à la personne chargée par S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon d'en prendre possession, et qu'en conséquence Monsieur le Général Commandant de l'île n'en fasse évacuer aucun effet d'artillerie, le tout conclu en exécution du traité entre les Puissances susdites, la France et l'Empereur Napoléon, dans lequel il est stipulé que la souveraineté de l'île d'Elbe formera, sa vie durant, une principauté séparée, qui sera possédée par lui en toute propriété, et que son pavillon, qui y sera arboré, sera respecté, et jouira des prérogatives qui y sont attachées.

'Monsieur le Général de Division Comte Drouot, Commissaire de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, se rendant à l'île d'Elbe pour en prendre possession au nom de S. M., les Commissaires des Puissances Alliées soussignés ont désignés M. le Major le Comte Clam, Chambellan de S. M. l'Empereur d'Autriche, et M. Thomas Hastings, Lieutenant de Marine de S. M. britannique, de la frégate "Undaunted," pour assister à la prise de possession de l'île d'Elbe, faire arborer le pavillon de cette île et en dresser procès-verbal.

'Fait à Fréjus, le 27e avril 1814.

'Le BARON DE KÖLLER, Lieutenant-Général autrichien et Aide-de-camp des Armées.

'Le COMTE DE SCHUWALLOFF, Aide-de-camp-Général de S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies.

'Le COMTE DE WALBOURG-TRUCHESS, Colonel-Général de S. M. le Roi de Prusse.

'NEIL CAMPBELL, Colonel au service de S. M. britannique.'

CHAPTER III.

NAPOLEON EMBARKS ON BOARD H.M.S. 'UNDAUNTED'—INCIDENTS OF VOYAGE—NOTES OF CONVERSATIONS—ARRIVAL AT ELBA—EXCURSIONS IN THE ISLAND WITH NAPOLEON—VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS—GENERAL KÖLLER LEAVES PORTO FERRAJO—NAPOLEON HOLDS A DRAWING-ROOM—STATISTICS RELATING TO ELBA.

THE 'Undaunted' anchored off Frejus at midday on the 27th. Captain Usher came on shore to be presented to Napoleon, and the baggage was sent off at once for embarkation. Soon afterwards the French frigate 'Dryade,' in company with a corvette and a transport, arrived in the bay. The officer commanding stated that his orders were to embark the Emperor in the corvette, the frigate forming the escort. This displeased Napoleon extremely, as he considered it should have been optional with him to choose in which of the vessels he should make his voyage, and he was by this incident confirmed in his resolve to embark on board the English frigate. Such a plan of course greatly offended the French officers, who tried, though in vain, to persuade him to decide in favour of the corvette.

In contrast with the treatment he had received from the Provisional Government of France, he spoke in grateful terms of the liberal disposition evinced towards him by the Ministers of H. R. H. the Prince Regent, although he had always been the avowed enemy of the British nation.

At sunset, on April 28, Napoleon and his suite left the inn at Frejus in carriages, which conveyed them to the beach, distant about an English mile. Here a small wharf had been prepared, at the extremity of which was the barge of the 'Undaunted.' He embarked with Captain

Usher and General Bertrand, and on his arrival on board the frigate was received with a royal salute of twenty-one guns.

Some little difficulty had arisen with regard to this salute, as instead of Napoleon proceeding on board in the forenoon, as had been intended, he was prevented by a temporary indisposition from leaving the inn until much later. It was represented to him that it was not customary to salute after sunset, in the hope that he would dispense with the compliment; but this he decidedly objected to, and desired General Drouot to say to me he would postpone the embarkation till the following morning, as, on account of the impression it would make on the inhabitants, he particularly wished to be received with a royal salute. As it was very important that there should be no unnecessary delay in Napoleon's reaching his new sovereignty, I urged Captain Usher strongly to waive on this occasion the usual etiquette; and in consequence Napoleon was persuaded to embark on the day originally fixed, and was, as related above, received with the honours he so much valued.

The Russian and Prussian Commissioners accompanied the rest of the party on board the 'Undaunted,' but they took leave of Napoleon, and quitted the ship before she weighed anchor, as their instructions did not allow of their proceeding farther.

Napoleon had the whole of the after-cabin to himself, and his two generals slept in the half of the captain's, which was screened off. In the other half he breakfasted at ten, and dined at six, in company with General Köller, Count Clam, Generals Bertrand and Druot, Captain Usher, and myself. Throughout the voyage Napoleon conducted himself with the greatest condescension and cordiality towards us all. He remarked himself that he had never felt in better health, and officers of his suite observed that they had never seen him appear more at his ease. It

seemed to me that one great source of his happiness and satisfaction arose from the security of his person; for it was evident, during his stay at Fontainebleau and the following journey, that he entertained great apprehensions of attacks upon his life, and he certainly exhibited more timidity than one would have expected from a man of his calibre.

Although at Fontainebleau he expressed his desire to pass the remainder of his life in retirement at Elba, studying the arts and sciences, he inadvertently gave frequent proofs in his subsequent conversations on board the 'Undaunted' of the active restlessness of his disposition, and indicated his expectation of opportunities arising, which would once again afford scope for the exercise of his ambition.

He evidently persuaded himself that the greatest portion of the population in France remained favourable to him, although this feeling did not extend to the coast. He explained this by observing, that France in former times had always made treaties of commerce with Great Britain, which were extremely discouraging to her internal industry, though beneficial to Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, &c., whose chief interest lay in peace with that nation. But as his system went to encourage the manufactures of France, Lyons, Tarare (a manufacturing town between Lyons and Roanne), and all others similarly situated, were attached to him, and had given proofs to that effect on his journey. Such demonstrations, however, had not been perceived by the Commissioners!

General Bertrand has likewise told me that he considers a great part of France still for Napoleon; that Augereau's troops were so, and the Marshal's life was in danger for the part he took against his old master; that Napoleon had often been told Augereau would betray him; that, near Lyons and other towns, many inhabitants informed them as they passed along, it was for fear of the Austrians they

carried the white cockade. At Valence the French soldiers held up the tri-coloured cockade clandestinely in their hands, shaking their heads at the same time, and even shedding tears.

Addressing himself particularly to me one morning at breakfast, General Köller, Count Clam, Captain Usher, and General Bertrand being likewise present, Napoleon said:

That England had, ever since the time of Cromwell, set up her extraordinary pretensions of domination on the sea. (I here remarked that, since the French Revolution, she had found it necessary, in order to preserve her very existence.)

That her finance was now on such a footing, that she could not exist excepting by having sale without limits for all her manufactures.

That, if she had not this extraordinary commerce with all the world, she would still be a respectable nation, in power and riches, from her ordinary means, population, and institutions, but she would be greatly diminished.

That, after the Peace of Amiens, Lord Sidmouth[1] wished to renew the former treaty of commerce, which had been made by Vergennes[2] after the American War; but he [Napoleon] was anxious to encourage the interior industry of France, and therefore expressed his readiness to make a treaty, though not like the former (which was known by the portfolios of Versailles to be injurious to France), but upon terms of reciprocity. Thus, if France receives so many millions of English imports, England must take away an equal quantity of French productions. Lord

[1] Prime Minister, as Mr. Addington, from March 1801 to May 1804. Created Viscount Sidmouth, January 1805. The Peace of Amiens only lasted from March 1802 to April 1803.—ED.

[2] He was Prime Minister under Louis XVI., from November 1781 to February 1787, when he died. The Peace between France and Great Britain, called the Peace of Versailles, was signed February 20, 1783. In consequence of the censure passed upon it, the Shelburne Ministry was dissolved on February 26, 1783.—ED.

Sidmouth said, I cannot make a treaty on these terms; this is totally new. Very well, replies Napoleon, I cannot force you to a treaty of commerce any more than you can force me; but we must remain as we are. Then, says Lord Sidmouth, there will be war; for, unless the people of England have the advantages of their commerce upon the terms they have been accustomed to, they will force me to declare war. As you please, rejoins Napoleon. It is my duty to study the just interests of France, and I shall not form a treaty of commerce on other principles than those I have stated. England under Mr. Fox (1806) was certainly not prepared for the steps which he took in retaliation for her blockading an entire line of coast from the Elbe to Brest.[3] It was that which forced him to the continental system.

Then England made pretences about Malta, but all the world knew that was not the cause of quarrel. He was sincere in the desire for peace; as a proof of which he sent his expedition to St. Domingo. I told him our Ministers thought him not sincere, both from his refusing the treaty of commerce, and likewise sending consuls to Ireland in company with engineers, for the purpose of examining the harbours.[4] He laughed at my remark, and said, 'Oh! that was not necessary, for every harbour in England and Ireland was known.' General Bertrand added, that every ambassador or minister to another country was a spy.

[3] 'The British, who, by Mr. Fox's order, declared the coast from the Elbe to Brest in blockade.'—Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. x. ch. lxxvi.—ED.

[4] 'Under pretence of establishing French consuls for the protection of commerce, he [Napoleon] sent persons, chiefly of the military profession, who carried orders to make exact plans of all the harbours and coasts of the United Kingdom. These gentlemen endeavoured to execute their commission with all possible privacy, but the discovery of their occupation was soon made; they were sent back to France without ceremony, and this treacherous measure of their Government was openly denounced as a violation of every rule of international law, and a plain symptom of warlike preparation.'—Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. pp. 264–5.—ED.

Napoleon observed that Spain was the natural friend of France and the enemy of Great Britain; that it was for their mutual interest to ally themselves in support of their commerce and foreign possessions, which were equally offensive to England; that it was a shame to Spain to allow us to hold Gibraltar: it needed only to bombard it from the land night and day during a year, and it must be worn out. (Here he asked, whether we still held Ceuta.) He did not invade Spain in order to put one of his own family on the throne, but to revolutionise her; to make her a kingdom *en règle*; to abolish the Inquisition, feudal rights, and the inordinate privileges of certain classes.

He spoke also of our attacking Spain without a declaration of war, and without cause. I told him we knew for a certainty that the Spanish Government intended to make common cause with him, as soon as the treasure amassed in America for a long time should arrive. He replied that he did not want it: all he needed was five millions a month to Frenchify it ('pour la francifier:' he used this term repeatedly).

The Treaty of Utrecht, he said, directs that the boarding of vessels shall be done out of gunshot. America behaved with spirit in the matter of search. I asked here whether America showed hostility to Great Britain upon principles of right, or whether the President engaged in war in order to force the people to form a navy and army, so that the protection of his trade was a mere excuse. To this question he made no direct reply, but only laughed while saying, 'Ah! vous traitez les Américains toujours comme s'ils étaient encore vos sujets.'[5] He thought their state correspondence with us was very well written, and contained much sound reasoning. I told him I was not sufficiently master of the general question to judge of that; but as to the original

[5] 'Ah! you always treat the Americans as if they were still your subjects.'

ground of quarrel — the boarding their men-of-war — that was only the aggression of a single officer, which was disavowed by our Government, and for which they offered to make any proper atonement.[6] As to their style of writing, we found in it great imperfection. Whether it was a State-paper, a naval or military despatch, although the words themselves were the same, the language appeared totally different in meaning from our own.

Napoleon went on to say, that the Americans acknowledged the justice of his principles of commerce. Formerly they had brought some millions of cotton and tobacco, and taken away the payment in specie from France. Then went light to England, and from thence conveyed British manufactures. But afterwards he would not admit their tobacco and cotton, unless they took away an equal value of French productions. They yielded to his system as being just. But now England has no power which can oppose her system, and she may pursue it without limits. She may impose upon France any treaty she pleases.

'Les Bourbons, pauvres diables!' Here he seemed to check himself, but presently added: 'Ils[7] sont de grands seigneurs, qui sont contents d'avoir leurs terres et leurs châteaux. Mais si le peuple de France devient mécontent

[6] 'The "Chesapeake," American frigate, was cruising off Virginia (June 23rd, 1807), and was known to have some English deserters on board, when she was hailed by the "Leopard" of 74 guns, Captain Humphries, who made a formal requisition for the men. The American captain denied he had them, and refused to admit the right of search, upon which Captain Humphries fired a broadside, which killed and wounded several on board the "Chesapeake," whereupon she struck, and the deserters were found on board, taken to Halifax, and one executed. The President, upon this, issued a proclamation, ordering all British ships-of-war to leave the harbours of the United States; but the English Government disavowed the act, recalled Captain Humphries, and offered to make reparation, as the right of search, when applied to vessels of *war*, extended only to a *requisition*, but could not be carried into effect by actual force.'—Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. x. ch. lxxvi. —ED.

[7] 'They are like great nobles, content as long as they enjoy their estates and their mansions. But if the people of France become dissatisfied with that, and find that

de cela, et trouve qu'il n'y a pas l'encouragement pour ses manufactures dans l'intérieur qu'il devrait avoir, ils en seront chassés en six mois ! '

Here he again checked himself, as if seeming aware of his own indiscretion, and soon afterwards rose from table, breakfast being finished. He evidently possesses no command over himself while in conversation.

Upon April 29 we communicated with H. M. brig 'Merope,' Captain Roberts, which remained in company all day. This officer came on board and dined with Napoleon; and I took the opportunity of writing by him to Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, then at Genoa, enclosing likewise a letter for Lord William Bentinck, and sending to each copies of Lord Castlereagh's instructions with regard to my present mission.

At table one day Napoleon showed us his snuffbox, on which is a portrait of the Empress, with a date set in diamonds. This led him to produce another, on which was the figure of a naked infant, representing the King of Rome. He did not seem at all affected in referring to the Empress, but of the other he spoke with some feeling, and mentioned that the child did not wish to quit Paris when the family were going to Orleans; that he held by his hands on to the table, and they were obliged to tear him away by force. Napoleon called him 'Le pauvre diable ! '

When off Calvi in Corsica, May 1, we passed H.M.S. 'Berwick,' having on board Commodore Brisbane and General Montresor, in command of a force destined for that island, the frigates 'Aigle' and 'Alcmène,' with six sail of transports bound for Ajaccio. The captains of the two frigates, Sir I. Louis and Captain Coghlan, came on board, and dined with Napoleon. He was extremely anxious to know the state of affairs in Corsica, whether there were any armed parties in the interior, whether the

they have not such encouragement for their manufactures in the interior as they ought to have, they will be driven out in six months.'

Deputation sent to Genoa, requesting the presence of a naval and military force, came only from Bastia, or also from the whole island.

Napoleon was informed that General Count Berthier commanded at Ajaccio; that British troops and colours were at St. Florenzo, Calvi, and other places, in compliance with the wish of the inhabitants; that this occupation had taken place previously to the arrival of the officer from Paris, with the news of Louis XVIII. having been declared by the Provisional Government; and that General Berthier and his troops had taken the oath of allegiance. General Bertrand requested that I would ask one of the English officers to take charge of an open letter to General Berthier at Ajaccio, and another addressed to an individual in Corsica, adding the assurance that the Emperor refrained from all interference in public affairs, and that these letters were merely of a private nature. I told him that the letters should be delivered to General Montresor and Commodore Brisbane, who would no doubt take care that they reached their destination.

The abdication of Napoleon appeared to be unknown to these officers; I therefore acquainted them with the exact state of affairs; and as one of the frigates was returning to Genoa, I again wrote to the Admiral and to Lord William Bentinck, to inform them of several fresh demands which had been made to me by General Bertrand on the part of Napoleon, enclosing at the same time a letter to Lord Castlereagh, in which I begged for further instructions.

General Bertrand had constantly impressed upon me, that as the island of Elba does not afford the supplies necessary for Napoleon's table, and as he has only with him the baggage which accompanied him in the campaign, he was in want of many things, which would oblige him to have recourse to the Continent. Although Napoleon could himself have ordered them, yet, in order to show his

confidence in the Commissioners, he had directed his intentions to be fully detailed in a note; it was to the same purport as that before given, and sent to Lord Castlereagh.

Napoleon is perfectly conversant with all the details of naval affairs,[8] such as the cost and daily expense of a ship-of-war, the number of rounds for service on board, the difference between French and British line-of-battle-ships, the ropes in the case of the former being worked upon the upper-deck, so that more men were exposed.

He is extremely inquisitive as to all points respecting our navy, its establishment, discipline, &c., and General Bertrand daily puts similar questions to Captain Usher and myself, which are doubtless desired by Napoleon; for on other occasions it has been evident that the General himself has no curiosity or interest in anything connected with naval affairs.

One morning Napoleon described to Captain Usher, by my interpretation, the system for his marine conscripts, which he was persuaded would succeed. It was immaterial to him whether the youth was from a seaport or from the interior. He went into the navy at fourteen. For a certain number of years he remained in harbour, in order to practise getting under weigh and anchoring, which were considered the most difficult parts of a seaman's duty, then to run out on a voyage of four or five months,

[8] 'There are hundreds of letters from Napoleon on naval matters, many of which relate to his projected invasion of England. In these he not only gives the minutest directions respecting the flotilla at Boulogne, but he issues the most positive orders to his fleets in all parts of the world, as to the conduct to be pursued under every possible circumstance. We confess ourselves incompetent to criticise his plans of naval warfare; but on the very face of the thing it certainly argues great presumption on the part of one totally unacquainted with the sea to speak so authoritatively, and the frequent reverses which his fleets suffered go far to corroborate this first impression. At any rate, one would naturally take for granted that he spoke, if not by the advice, at least with the concurrence, of his Minister of Marine. There are, however, undeniable proofs that this was not the case.'—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 258, October 1867, Art. I., 'The Napoleon Correspondence,' pp. 336–7.—ED.

and home again. This was every preparation necessary for manning a fleet, which would next proceed out in squadrons to manœuvre and fight the enemy. In this way he would have had, within three or four years, a fleet of 300 sail of the line. It was this system which made it requisite for him to possess himself of Holland, the Zuyder Zee being useful to his great plan for forming seamen. Not that he wanted the Dutch ships, which were only fit to carry horses. He found it necessary to send them artists of all kinds for construction.

He spoke of the bad behaviour of several of his frigates, particularly the 'Clorinde,' near Madagascar.[9] 'J'ai fait tout ce que je pouvais pour couper la tête au capitaine; mais on l'a seulement condamné à prison pendant trois années.'[1]

He praised Admiral Villeneuve's dispositions at Trafalgar, but said that the Admirals on the two flanks did not follow his signals, so as to close in rear of Nelson, when he pushed to the centre.[2]

He thought the policy of England was mistaken in making the attack on Copenhagen, for, in consequence of it, Denmark, from being a sincere friend to us, had become a decided enemy. I alluded to the secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit. He said, that although Denmark might be forced to declare war against England, she would not carry it on sincerely, and a few ships more or less could be no object to England.

[9] The action between the 'Clorinde,' of 44 guns, and the 'Eurotas,' under Capt. Phillimore, of the same force, commenced February 25, 1814. The next day, when they were again nearing each other, two more British vessels, the 'Dryad' and the 'Achilles,' appeared, and the 'Clorinde' then struck. Out of a crew of 360 men, she had 120 killed and wounded.—ED.

[1] 'I did all I could to get the captain's head cut off; but they only condemned him to prison for three years.'

[2] The only other French Admiral was Rear-Admiral Dumanoir. Admiral Gravina commanded the Spanish fleet, and was mortally wounded, returning to Cadiz to die.—ED.

The expedition against Antwerp,[3] under Lord Chatham, was on too great a scale to be rapid. It must be carried by a *coup de main* of 10,000 men with artillery, who would land at Williamstad, execute their object, and be off again before a large force could be assembled to oppose them. He wrote from Vienna to warn the authorities in France of that expedition being destined against Antwerp.

England could not hold Walcheren without 14,000 men, and half of these would be lost by disease annually. Even if she had got possession of Antwerp, he had such resources in its neighbourhood as to be able to attack it suddenly with great superiority of numbers, and then it must fall. France would be nothing without Antwerp, for while Brest, Toulon, and other ports were blockaded, a fleet could be equipped there with wood brought from Poland. He never would consent to give it up, having sworn at his coronation not to diminish France. He told me that the smugglers carried on an unceasing espionage, bringing him immediate information of any expedition being prepared, copies of our newspapers, and quantities of guineas. They took back the productions of the Continent. They were admitted only to Gravelines, and assembled under certain regulations. His system of espionage in England cost him five millions of livres (250,000*l.*).

Besides what he had mentioned, the smugglers, Napoleon said, had offered to be of service to him in various ways. One of them, for instance, proposed to carry off General Sarrazin,[4] but he did not want him, 'C'est un fou, un homme qui ne valait la peine, et dont je n'avais pas

[3] The 'Walcheren expedition,' which proved so disastrous a failure, sailed from England July 28, 1809, and was composed of 40,000 troops with 35 ships of the line and 200 smaller vessels, principally transports. The island was finally evacuated December 23, 1809.—ED.

[4] He had escaped from Boulogne to England in 1810, in a small boat, leaving behind him his wife, who was an Englishwoman. Whereupon she wrote a letter, which was published by order of Napoleon,

besoin.'[5] As much as to say, that such means would always be resorted to, if there was an object to serve of sufficient interest.

He had the Elbe sounded carefully by engineers, and found it was as favourable as the Scheldt for the erection of great naval establishments near Hamburgh. It surprised him this was not known before. He would have built ships of the line there with wood from Poland.

He described to us, on a plan of Cherbourg, a basin cut out of the solid rock, with docks for twenty-five ships of the line, as executed under his orders. He drew with a pencil a line of fortifications erected for its protection against any expedition from England, which he always expected. The Empress Marie-Louise visited Cherbourg last year, when he was at Dresden, upon the completion of the work. Had we landed there, he would have destroyed the mouth of the basin by which we entered by means of mines, so that not a man could have escaped after they had once got in with their fine ships.

He intended to form establishments for shipbuilding at Bouc, so that materials might come there directly by the Rhone. A canal was already cut to join the two. Toulon, in that case, would only be used as a shelter for his fleets. He had found great inconvenience in being obliged to complete the provisions and stores of his men-of-war after they went out of the inner harbours, as it gave information of his intentions to the British cruisers. They were

giving out that her husband had been deranged for seven years. Sarrazin replied by a series of letters addressed to the *Times*, proclaiming his own sanity and violently abusing Napoleon. 'General Sarrazin (an anecdote relates) was on duty when Napoleon and his newly-married wife arrived at Boulogne. After viewing the fortifications, they went upon the heights overlooking the sea. The Empress, telescope in hand, observing a vessel cruising at some distance, enquired what it was, and was told it was English. Seeing five others in the harbour, she asked why they did not go out and take it. Snatching the glass out of her hand, Napoleon said, 'Because —— the wind is not fair!' —ED.

[5] 'He is a madman, a man who was not worth the trouble, of whom I had no need.'

then on the watch, and either blockaded or cut them out. To avoid a similar difficulty, he contrived so as to send the 'Rivoli'[6] out in a few hours from her original station at Venice towards Corfu, where, however, she was taken. He fixed *chameaux* (camels) on either side, which prevented her from sinking in the water in proportion as her weight increased. With these she was floated out. They were then cut away, sail was made, and the voyage pursued.

He referred to a map of Toulon harbour, and went over the whole of the operations against Lord Hood and General O'Hara. At this time he commanded the artillery there with the rank of Major. All the other French officers were for a regular siege. He gave in a memoir for the purpose of showing how to drive off the fleet from the opposite side, and that the English would not hazard the total loss of their garrison. The event justified his belief.

He related an anecdote of one of the Representatives of the People, who ordered his battery to fire, which unmasked it too soon. The only time he was ever wounded was by an English gunner at Toulon, who ran a pike into his thigh. He was endeavouring to enter a battery by the embrasure. His people got round by the rear, and entered at the same moment. It was at this period also that, while Junot was in the act of writing, a cannon-ball struck and spattered the ground all about his party; on which he remarked that it was sand for the letter.

Captain Usher here asked him, whether it was true that he had charged at the head of a column across the bridge of Lodi. He said it was.

With reference to caricatures, I told Napoleon that no one in England was exempt from them, neither our Sove-

[6] The 'Rivoli,' an eighty-four-gun ship, had been built at Venice, and was captured, after a severe engagement, by the 'Victorious,' seventy-four, Captain John Talbot, on March 21, 1812, off the point of Grao in Istria.—ED.

reign nor the Ministers. Napoleon remarked that there were plenty of him, at any rate in England, and that no doubt his present voyage would form a fertile subject for them. Captain Usher said it would immortalise the 'Undaunted.' General Bertrand observed, that it was most unaccountable to him how 'The Spirit of the Book'—a libel on the Princess of Wales—could have been published by the bookseller of the Prince, as expressly stated on the title-page.

Napoleon asked Captain Usher and myself whether we belonged to the Opposition. Captain Usher said, he did. I told him that I did not approve of all that Ministers had done in former times, but that latterly my opinion of their policy had become much more favourable. He inquired of me in what estimation Sir Francis Burdett was held. I replied that, in his private character, he was considered very amiable, but his influence over the minds of the people had been much diminished since he escaped clandestinely from the Tower.

Captain Usher told Napoleon that the Duchess of Bedford, who had been presented to him at Paris as Lady Georgiana Gordon, was now in the Mediterranean. He said he recollected her; she was a great dancer, and often danced with the Viceroy of Italy. Her mother was a large woman.[7]

On the 2nd May we were becalmed off St. Florenzo. Napoleon seemed very anxious to learn the news of the island, and frequently proposed to send on shore. Seeing a fishing-boat, he said jocularly, 'Allons, faites venir ici ce pêcheur!'[8] Captain Usher said to me that he was sur-

[7] 'I knew Jane Duchess of Gordon intimately, and many pleasant hours have I passed in her society. She used to say, "I have been acquainted with David Hume and William Pitt, and therefore I am not afraid to converse with anybody."'—Rogers' *Table Talk*, p. 143.

Her fifth and youngest daughter, Georgiana, married John sixth Duke of Bedford, on June 23, 1803.—ED.

[8] 'Go and make that fisherman come here!'

prised to hear Napoleon propose to stop a fishing-boat, an interruption upon the high seas so contrary to his system. I did not choose to communicate the remark, but he desired me to translate it. On this being done, he laughed and patted Captain Usher on the back, saying, 'Ah, capitaine!' The Austrian Commissioner said to me, aside, that he was so accustomed to *seize*, that he could not yet abandon his old tricks.

Before sunset a small tartane was seen standing in for St. Florenzo, and the master was brought on board. Napoleon asked him fifty questions in rapid succession, speaking Italian, and then left him abruptly. These had all reference to Corsica, and in answering them the man exulted in the present change of affairs, the British flag flying everywhere, and so large a force of English being at Genoa. On being informed who it was he had been speaking to, the man stared hard at Napoleon; but when, as he was passing along the deck, the latter put to him some further questions, he replied with much less respect than before, on which Napoleon left him, and asked Captain Usher to send him away. The tartane was on its way to Sardinia from Genoa, where, the man told us, the King of Sardinia was, as well as Sir Edward Pellew and Lord William Bentinck.

On the morning of May 3, a boat came off to the frigate from Capraja, an island between the northern point of Corsica and Elba, conveying a deputation of several of the inhabitants, one of whom represented himself as the president of a municipal council lately formed. They stated that, two weeks before, they had revolted against the French garrison and sent them to Corsica; that they had forwarded an address to Lord William Bentinck on the 24th April, requesting to be taken under British protection. Captain Usher sent an officer on shore, to remain with them, for the purpose of signing passports for their boats, until superior orders should be received.

The same afternoon we were off Porto Ferrajo in Elba, it being too calm for the frigate to enter the harbour. General Drouot with Count Clam and Lieutenant Hastings were sent on shore to take possession. I accompanied them. The inhabitants appeared to view us with great curiosity. We were conducted, in the first instance, to the house of General d'Alhesme, senior officer, who informed us that, two days before, an officer had arrived from Paris with orders dated April 18, for the embarkation of all stores, and notifying the appointment of the Provisional Government; in consequence of which the General and his troops had given in their adhesion to Louis XVIII., and mounted the white flag. At the same time the General expressed his desire to do whatever should be agreeable to Napoleon.

In reading out quotations from his instructions in my presence, General Drouot stated to General d'Alhesme, on the part of Napoleon, that he should wish to receive the names of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who might be willing to enter his service. Napoleon said last night that the whole force in the island amounted to only about 250; but I am informed that there had been more than 2,000 troops in all, although by desertion, and the discharge of discontented foreigners, they are now reduced to 600 or 700. There are two small vessels of the French marine in the harbour, the crews of which have deserted, and Napoleon intends, I believe, to retain them also.

General Drouot likewise desired a deputation of the principal inhabitants to come off in the course of the evening. They arrived about 8 P.M., consisting of all the civil and military authorities, and the frigate anchored at the same time.

For several weeks the inhabitants had been in a state of revolt, in consequence of which the troops occupied only the fortifications which surround the town of Porto Ferrajo. The General had discharged all foreign soldiers

and landed them on the Continent, on account of their disaffection. The spirit of the inhabitants is very inimical to the late Government of France, and personally to Napoleon, so that he will certainly require the French troops for his protection until his Guards arrive from France. He has also so strongly urged Captain Usher and myself to land the marines, that we could not refuse; —although, as I told him last night, I presume that will not be necessary, so long as the French troops remain in the island.

During the night, by Napoleon's request, the Aide-de-camp of General Köller was sent off to Piombino, to notify his having taken possession of the island of Elba in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Allies, and also to invite a renewal of communications for purposes of commerce, news, &c. The Austrian officer was the bearer of a letter to this effect, addressed to the Commandant, and signed by us the Commissioners. He however politely declined the proposal, until he had received the permission of the King of the Two Sicilies, to whom he had referred.

At daylight, May 4, Napoleon was on deck with the Captain of the port, and remained there for two hours, conversing with various officers, and making inquiries as to the anchorage, fortifications, &c.

At 8 A.M. he asked for a boat, and embarked, wearing his great coat and round hat. Count Bertrand, Captain Usher, Colonel Vincent the chief engineer, and myself accompanied him. When we were half-way across the harbour, he remarked that he was himself without a sword. Soon afterwards he asked whether the peasants of Tuscany were addicted to assassination. Evidently he is greatly afraid of falling in this way.

His purpose in crossing the harbour was to look at a house of imposing appearance near the beach. We remained there for nearly two hours, walking about and waiting for the keys.

Returning on board, he fixed upon the flag of Elba, and ordered two to be made immediately, in order that one may be hoisted upon the fortifications at 1 P.M., while he himself will disembark with another at 2 P.M. The flag is white, with a red stripe diagonally, and three bees on the stripe. It is as nearly as possible one of the flags of ancient Tuscany, and the bees formed part of his own arms as Emperor of France.

At 2 P.M. he landed, Count Bertrand, General Köller, Captain Usher, and myself being in the same boat with him. There were boats with officers upon either quarter, and others filled with musicians and inhabitants of the island. The yards of the frigate and of the two French corvettes were manned, and royal salutes fired. At the beach he was received by the prefect, clergy, &c., and the keys were presented upon a plate amid acclamations of 'Vive l'Empereur!' We next proceeded to the church in procession, and from thence to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where all the authorities and principal inhabitants were assembled, with each of whom he conversed. After this he mounted his horse, attended by about a dozen persons, and visited part of the fortified outworks. Dinner was at 7 P.M.

May 5.—From daylight to breakfast at 10 P.M. Napoleon was on foot, inspecting the castles, storehouses, and magazines.

At 2 P.M. he went into the interior on horseback, a distance of two leagues, and examined various country-houses.

May 6.—At 7 A.M. he crossed the harbour in Captain Usher's boat, proceeded on horseback across the island to Rio, and examined the mines, then ascended a number of hills and mountain-tops upon which there are ruins. After a 'Te Deum' in a chapel, we had breakfast. On our return we re-embarked in Captain Usher's boat, but, instead of returning direct, Napoleon visited the watering-

place, the height opposite the citadel on which he proposes to establish a sea-battery, and a rock at the mouth of the harbour on which he also thinks of placing a tower.

In talking at dinner of his intention to take possession of a small island without inhabitants, which is about ten miles off the coast of Elba, Napoleon said, 'Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai fait une conquête déjà.'[9] He laughed at this.

Already he has all his plans in agitation; such as to convey water from the mountains to the city, to prepare a country-house, a house in Porto Ferrajo for himself, and another for the Princess Pauline, a stable for 150 horses, a lazaretto for vessels to perform quarantine, a depôt for the salt, and another for the nets belonging to the fishery of the tunny.

May 7.—From 5 to 10 A.M. Napoleon visited other parts of the town and fortifications on foot, then embarked in boats, and visited the different storehouses round the harbour.

In making the excursions into the country, yesterday and the day before, he was accompanied by a dozen officers. A captain of gendarmes and one of his Fourriers de Palais always rode in front; and, on two occasions, a sergeant's party of gendarmes-à-pied went on about an English mile before.

On taking our places in the boat, some of us, following Bertrand's example, kept off our hats; on which he told us to put them on, adding, 'Nous sommes ici ensemble en soldat!'[1]

The fishery of the tunny is carried on by the richest inhabitant of the island. This person, by his own industry, has, out of a state of extreme poverty, amassed a fortune. He employs a great proportion of the poor, and has much influence. The removal of the stores by Napoleon to a

[9] 'All Europe will say that I have made a conquest already.'

[1] 'We are here together as soldiers.'

very inferior building, merely for the convenience of his horses, is likely to cause disgust; but this shows how little Napoleon permits reflection to check his desires.

May 8.—Before landing from the frigate, Napoleon requested that a party of fifty marines might accompany him to remain on shore. This intention was afterwards changed; and one officer of marines and two sergeants, to act as orderlies, together with a lieutenant of the navy, were sent.

One of the sergeants, selected by himself, sleeps outside the door of his bedchamber, upon a mattrass, with his clothes on, and a sword at his side. A valet de chambre occupies another mattrass at the same place. If he lies down during the day, the sergeant is called to remain in the antechamber.

May 9.—Napoleon has requested General Köller and myself this day to sign a passport for one of his valets, to proceed to Genoa in His Majesty's ship 'Curaçoa,' Captain Tower, and from thence to the Viceroy of Italy. The motive alleged to us by Count Bertrand is to receive a quantity of furniture, his own private property, which is in the palace at Milan. I have considered it my duty to notify the circumstance to Lord William Bentinck, by General Köller, who goes in the same ship on his way to Paris, and I have requested him to wait upon his Lordship, in order to give every information in his power regarding Napoleon, and all occurrences since our departure.

The Commandant at Piombino has permitted every intercourse by order of the General in command of that province, and Napoleon has profited by it to send over to a palace of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, to bring over furniture which he alleges to be his private property.

Napoleon visited Longono, and was received with vivas and acclamations. Many old women presented petitions; others fell on their knees across the road to ask charity; while others again laid hold of his hand to kiss it. He

appeared to be displeased at their importunate manner. After quitting the town, a young lad fell on his knees at the side of the road—I am not certain whether to ask charity, or only to mark his respect. He took no notice of it to the lad, but turning away towards me, said: 'Ah! je connais bien ces Italiens. C'est l'éducation des moines. On ne voit pas cela parmi les peuples du Nord.'[2]

On proceeding a little farther we met two well-dressed women, who saluted him with compliments. One of them, about twenty-five years of age, told him, with great ease and gaiety, that she had been invited to the ball at Longono two days before, but, as the Emperor did not come, as was expected, she remained at home.

In place of returning by the same road, he turned off by goat-paths to examine the coast, humming Italian music, which he does very often, and seemingly quite in spirits. He expressed to me his fondness of music. Soon afterwards he told me that it all reminded him of passing the St. Bernard, and of a young peasant with whom he entered into conversation. The man did not know who he was, and spoke of the happiness of those who possessed a good house, a number of cattle, sheep, &c. He made him enumerate his greatest desires, afterwards sent for him, and gave him enough to purchase all that he had described. 'Cela m'a coûté 60,000 francs.'[3]

After his return from Longono at 8 P.M., he made General d'Alhesme and myself remain to dinner. During the meal he entered upon the operations of the armies at the conclusion of the last campaign, and continued the conversation for half an hour until we got up from table. The actions against the Allies, he said, were always in his favour, whenever the numbers were in any equal proportion. In the affair against the Prussians near Château

[2] 'Ah! I know well these Italians. It is the education of the monks. One does not see this among the people of the North.'

[3] 'That cost me 60,000 francs.'

Thierry he had only 700 infantry *en tirailleurs* with 2,000 cavalry, and three battalions of his Guards, in reserve against double their number. The instant these old soldiers showed themselves, the affair was decided, and yet the Prussians were infinitely the best of all the Allies. He paid many compliments to Marshal Blucher: 'Ce vieux diable m'a attaqué toujours avec la même vigueur. S'il était battu, l'instant après il se montrait encore prêt pour le combat.'[4]

He then described his last march from Arcis to Brienne; said that he knew Schwartzenberg would not stand to fight him, and he hoped to destroy half his army upon his retreat. He had already taken immense quantities of baggage and guns, when it was reported to him that the enemy's army had crossed the Aube to Vitry. This induced him to halt. He would not credit it, but General Gérard assured him that he saw 20,000 infantry. He was overjoyed at this news, and immediately returned by St. Dizier, where he attacked Witzenrode's cavalry, which he considered to be the advance of Schwartzenberg's army. He drove them before him a whole day—the 25th or 26th of March—like so many sheep, at a full gallop; took from 1,500 to 2,000 prisoners, and a quantity of light artillery. To his surprise, he could not perceive any army, and again halted. His best information led him to believe that, instead of retreating to Langres, they had returned to Troyes. He marched in that direction, when he ascertained, after a loss of three days, that the Allied Armies of Schwartzenberg and Blucher had marched upon Paris. He ordered forced marches, and went forwards himself on horseback, and accompanied by his suite in carriages, day and night. Never were he and all his friends more gay. He knew that all the workmen of Paris would fight for

[4] 'That old d——l always attacked me with the same vigour. If he was beaten, the moment afterwards he showed himself ready as ever for the fight.'

him; and what could the Allies do against such a force, with the National Guard beside them? Barricade all the streets with casks, and it would be impossible for the enemy to advance before he arrived to the support of his party. At 8 A.M., while a few leagues from Paris, he met a column of stragglers, and they mutually stared at each other. 'Qu'est-ce que c'est cela?' he demanded. They stopped, and seemed stupified. 'Quoi! l'Empereur?' They informed him that they had retreated through Paris. He was still, however, confident of success. The army were burning with desire to attack the enemy, and drive them out of the capital. He knew well the composition of the Allied Army as compared with his own, and that Schwartzenberg would never hazard a battle with Paris in his rear, but would take up a defensive position on the other side. He would have engaged the enemy at various points for two or three hours, and then have marched with his thirty battalions of Guards and eighty pieces of cannon upon one part of their line. Nothing could withstand that attack; and although his inferiority of numbers could not enable him to hope for a complete victory, he would yet kill so many of the enemy, with much less loss to himself, as to force him to abandon Paris and its neighbourhood. What he would afterwards do must depend upon various circumstances.

Who could have supposed that the Senate would have dishonoured themselves by assembling under the force of 200,000 of the enemy's bayonets?—a timidity unexampled in history! And then, that Marmont, a man who owed everything to him—who had been his aide-de-camp, and attached to him for twenty-one years—should have betrayed him! Still it was but a faction which ruled Paris under the influence of a foreign force. The rest of the nation was for him. The army, almost to a man, would continue to fight for him; but with so great an inferiority of numbers it would be the certain death of many of his

friends, and a civil war to last for years. He preferred rather to sacrifice his rights, although the army wished to support him in them. It was not for the sake of a crown that he had continued the war, but for the glory of his country, for plans which he now saw no prospect of realising. He wished to have made France the first nation in the world, but now it was at an end. 'J'ai abdiqué. A présent je suis un homme mort.'[5] He repeated this latter expression several times.

In remarking on his confidence in his own troops, particularly his Old Guards, and the inefficiency of the Allies, he referred to me to say candidly if it was not so. 'Dites-moi, Combell,[6] franchement; n'est-ce pas vrai?'[7] I told him it was; that when with the Allies, I never yet saw a considerable portion of his army, but everyone spoke of 'the Emperor and his Guards,'[8] as if there was something in them more than human to be dreaded—that the inferiority which he conceived of Schwartzenberg's army was justly founded. There was no confidence in themselves or in their Allies. Each party thought he did too much, and his Allies too little; and they were half beaten before they closed with the French. However, in assenting to his character of the Allies, I requested him not to include Wellington's army; and I added, that the French officers of the army from Spain did us ample justice in this respect.

He sneered at Marmont's anxiety for his life. 'Jamais chose avec telle naïveté que cette capitulation!'[9] He wished to protect his own person, and so he deserted, leaving the whole of his comrades open to the surprise of the enemy, for it was his corps which covered the whole front of the army. The night before his desertion he told

[5] 'I have abdicated. Now I am a dead man.'

[6] *Sic* in MS., apparently to show how Napoleon pronounced the name.—ED.

[7] 'Tell me, Campbell, frankly; is it not true?'

[8] Napoleon's last campaign in France was often called the 'Campaign of the Imperial Guard.'—ED.

[9] 'Never was anything so absurd as this capitulation.'

Napoleon, 'Pour mon corps d'armée, je réponds:'[1] and so he might, for the officers and soldiers were enraged when they found what had been done. 8,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of cannon! 'Voilà l'histoire!' he said to General d'Alhesme. He animadverted also on Marmont's conduct before Paris, saying, 'Who ever heard the like?—200 pieces of artillery in the Champ de Mars, and only six on the heights of Montmartre!' General d'Alhesme asked whether Marmont had not fought with vigour there; but he gave no answer to this question.

This was nearly what passed at table. After accompanying him to another room, he resumed the story of his campaigns, enlarging upon the politics of France, the incapacity of the Bourbons, and the antipathy of the nation to them; and continued the conversation with great agitation of manner until midnight, having then been for three hours on his legs! He seemed to regret his abdication. Had he known that it was owing to the treachery of Augereau only that that part of his army fell back behind Lyons, he would have united his own army to it, even after Marmont's capitulation. He animadverted strongly upon Augereau, having met him with all the kindness of a friend. The first idea of his treachery was after separating from him on the road between Valence and Lyons. General d'Alhesme expressed his surprise at Augereau's duplicity, and asked Napoleon whether he had seen the Marshal's proclamation. Napoleon said he had not—that the spirit of the troops was such that Augereau dared not remain among them for his arrival—that many old officers and soldiers came up to him weeping, and said that they were betrayed, and requested that he would put himself at their head. (If this were so, it could only be one or two in a very quiet way, for none of the Commissioners observed it, and Napoleon only changed horses at the spot.) He had a body of 30,000

[1] 'I can answer for my division of the army.'

fine troops there, many of them of the army of Spain, which ought to have held its ground against the Austrians.

He again spoke of Marmont's defection; that it was reported in the morning, but he did not believe it. He rode out, and soon afterwards met Berthier, who confirmed the fact from undoubted sources.

He referred to the armistice between Lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand. He thought the Allies failed in their own policy by reducing France so much, for it would hurt the pride of every man in France. The French people might have been left much more without any risk, and without being on an equality with several other Powers. They had no longer any fleet or colonies. A peace could not restore either ships or St. Domingo. Poland no longer remained to them, nor Venice. These were aggrandisements to Russia and Austria. Spain, which was the natural enemy of Great Britain, even more so than France, was now incapable of doing anything as an ally. If to these sacrifices was added that of a disadvantageous treaty of commerce with England, the people of France would not continue tranquil under it—'pas six mois après que les Puissances étrangères quittent Paris.'[2] He then remarked that already a month had passed, and the King of France had not yet come over to the people who had placed him on the throne. England, he said, did now as she pleased; the other Powers were nothing in comparison, 'Pour vingt années au moins aucune Puissance ne peut faire aucune guerre contre l'Angleterre, et elle fera comme elle veut.'[3] Holland would be entirely subservient to her. The armistice gave no information as to the ships at Antwerp, or in the Texel. 'Le brave Verhuell[4] se défend

[2] Not for six months after the foreign Powers leave Paris.'

[3] 'For twenty years at least no Power can make war against England, and she will do as she likes.'

[4] On the Russians, under Bulow, overrunning Holland in November 1813, Admiral Verhuell, Dutch by birth, but a naturalised Frenchman, threw himself into the forts of the

toujours.'[5] He enumerated the ships he had in each of these ports, and besides them, in three or four years, he would have had three hundred sail of the line. 'Quelle différence pour la France!'[6] He continued in this strain; upon which I said, 'Mais nous ne savons pas pourquoi Votre Majesté a voulu nous anéantir!'[7] He laughed, and replied, 'Si j'avais été Ministre d'Angleterre, j'aurais tâché de la faire la plus grande Puissance du monde.'[8]

May 10.—Napoleon rode nearly to the summit of the highest hill above Porto Ferrajo, from whence we could perceive the sea in four different quarters, and apparently not an English mile in a straight line to each, from the centre where we stood. After surveying the scene for some time, he turned round to me and smiled; then shaking his head, he observed, 'Eh! mon île est bien petite.'[9]

On the top of this hill is a small chapel, and a house where a hermit resided until his death. I remarked that it would require more than common devotion to induce persons to attend service there. 'Oui!' Napoleon said, 'ici le prêtre peut dire autant de bêtises qu'il veut.'[1]

This day, during dinner, General Drouot reported the arrival of some vessels, one of them having on board an aide-de-camp of the King of Naples, who had been sent to Marseilles in charge of Frenchmen on Murat declaring

Texel, and only surrendered them by express order of Louis XVIII. He had previously shown his fidelity to Napoleon in 1805, by bringing the Dutch flotilla in safety from Dunkirk to Ambleteuse, near Boulogne, although exposed all the way to the attacks of the British cruisers under Sir Sidney Smith. When the throne of Holland was offered to Louis Napoleon, Verhuell formed one of the deputation, and was appointed Minister of Marine. In the 'Almanach de la Cour' of 1819, his name appears among the 'Grands-Croix' of the Legion of Honour:

'Promotion du 11 juin 1806, M. le comte Ver-huell, vice-amiral.'—ED.

[5] 'The brave Verhuell still holds out.'

[6] 'What a change for France!'

[7] 'But we do not know why your Majesty has wished to annihilate us!'

[8] 'If I had been Minister of England, I should have tried to make her the greatest Power in the world.'

[9] 'Eh! my island is very little.'

[1] 'Yes; here the priest can talk as much nonsense as he likes.'

war, and was now returning to Naples. Although General Drouot twice repeated the fact of the Neapolitan vessel having arrived, Napoleon would take no notice, but kept on speaking of the British frigate. This shows that he wishes any communication he may hold with the King of Naples to be unknown.

The Austrian General Stahremberg, who has come from Leghorn to Piombino for the purpose of taking possession of that place, as well as of Lucca, on the part of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, informs me that Count Clam, the Austrian A.D.C. who was sent to notify Napoleon's arrival at Elba, was charged with letters to the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy. He opened them both, and they ran in the same terms as follows :—'L'Empereur Napoléon a l'honneur d'informer { le Roi de Naples, / le Vice-Roi d'Italie, } qu'il est arrivé à l'île d'Elbe. Il aura plaisir de savoir de leurs nouvelles.'[2]

I cannot account for General Köller's having concealed the fact of these letters having been sent, as we were in hourly communication, and it was reciprocally arranged, among the Four Commissioners at Fontainebleau, that every occurrence and conversation should be equally made known to each of us.

While General Köller was here, Napoleon never lost an opportunity of endeavouring to point out that Austria had mistaken her own policy in joining against France in a coalition, which would aggrandise Russia, and compromise the safety of Austria.

May 11.—At breakfast Napoleon told Bertrand that he had a few thousand livres at Venice. 'Il reste à voir si mon bon beau-père les rendra.'[3]

[2] 'The Emperor Napoleon has the honour to inform the King of Naples, and the Viceroy of Italy, that he has arrived in the island of Elba. It would give him pleasure to hear from them.'

[3] 'It remains to be seen whether my good father-in-law will give them up.'

In talking of sieges I remarked that a regular fortification did not seem so difficult of escalade if it had not a wet ditch, or some other physical obstacle. If the attacking party was in sufficient force to make various attacks, and the defending party not very strong in proportion to the extent of the works, probably one or two of the attacks would succeed. The main breach appeared to me capable of being made the strongest point at all times, and therefore the difficulties might be considered to remain very much in their original state.

Napoleon replied: 'Avec assez de canons, un bon commandant et de bonnes troupes, une escalade ne doit que réussir. Si la partie qui attaque soutient le feu avec beaucoup de petits mortiers sur la brèche, toutes les défenses et retranchements de l'autre doivent être si complétement détruits que personne ne puisse se montrer. Vos ingénieurs ont montré une ignorance de cela à Badajoz, car les brèches avaient des défenses complètes quand vous avez fait vos assauts; ce qui ne doit jamais avoir lieu. Si vous placez beaucoup de mortiers qui jettent des bombes' (I think he said 60 mortars), 'c'est impossible qu'ils travaillent, et la brèche doit être si complète que les soldats montent facilement à l'assaut.'[4]

Napoleon entered into a long conversation with General Drouot, who was with Villeneuve in Sir Robert Calder's action, as to that Admiral's operations.[5] General Drouot

[4] 'With enough guns, a good commander, and good troops, an escalade cannot fail to succeed.

'If the attacking party keep up the fire with a great many small mortars upon the breach, all the defences and retrenchments on the other side ought to be so completely destroyed that no one could show himself. Your engineers showed ignorance of this at Badajoz, for the breaches had *complete* defences when you made your assault; this ought never to be.

'If you place a great many mortars that throw shells, it is impossible that they can keep on working, and the breach ought to be so complete, that the soldiers can mount easily to the assault.

[5] 'At Portsmouth, Nelson at length found news of the combined fleet. Sir Robert Calder, who had been sent out to intercept their return, had fallen in with them on the 22nd of July [1805], sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Their force consisted of twenty sail of the line, three

said that he did not want either zeal or talents, but he was extremely nervous, and impressed with a great fear of the British navy; that, after the action, he was entreated by all his officers to pursue the British squadron and re-engage them, having a superiority of numbers.

May 12–14.—Napoleon has frequently spoken to me of the invasion of England, and stated that he never intended to make the attempt without a superiority of fleet to protect the flotilla.[6] This superiority would have been obtained for a few days by leading our fleet out to the West Indies, and suddenly returning. If they arrived three or four days before ours in the Channel, it would be

fifty-gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs: his, of fifteen line-of-battle ships, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. After an action of four hours, he had captured an eighty-four and a seventy-four, and then thought it necessary to bring-to the squadron, for the purpose of securing their prizes. The hostile fleets remained in sight of each other till the 26th, when the enemy bore away.'—Southey's *Life of Nelson*, ch. ix. p. 318.—ED.

[6] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 258, October, 1867, Art. I. 'Napoleon Correspondence,' p. 337. 'During the whole month of August, 1805, Napoleon remained at the camp of Boulogne, awaiting impatiently the arrival of Admiral Villeneuve from Spain and Ganteaume from Brest with their respective squadrons. The presence of the two Admirals in the Channel, with the combined fleets of Spain and France, would be sufficient, in the opinion of the Emperor, to protect the passage and landing in England of his invading army. But while Napoleon was waiting at Boulogne, Villeneuve, instead of joining Ganteaume at Brest, and from thence making sail with him for the Channel, had gone to Cadiz. When he left that port in October he was destined, as everybody knows, to encounter Nelson and suffer defeat at Trafalgar. Now let us see how events appear in the correspondence. We find there twelve letters for one single day, August 22, 1805, six of which are addressed to Decrès, the Minister of Marine, though he was at Boulogne at the time, within two miles of his master. One of the letters is addressed to Ganteaume at Brest. It contains an order to appear in the Channel as soon as possible with Villeneuve and their combined forces, and ends thus:—

'"Partez et venez ici. Nous avons vengé six siècles d'insultes et de honte. Jamais pour un plus grand objet mes soldats de terre et de mer n'auront exposé leur vie."

'To Villeneuve he writes: "Monsieur le Vice-Amiral Villeneuve,—J'espère que vous êtes arrivé à Brest. Partez, ne perdez pas un moment, et, avec mes escadres réunies, entrez dans la Manche. L'Angleterre est à nous. Nous sommes tous prêts, tout est embarqué. Paraissez vingt-quatre heures, et tout est terminé."'—ED.

sufficient. The flotilla would immediately push out accompanied by the fleet, and the landing would take place on some part of the English coast. As he should march immediately to London, he should prefer landing on the coast of Kent; but this must depend upon wind and weather. He would place himself at the disposal of the naval officers and pilots, so as to land the troops wherever they thought they could arrive with the greatest security and in least time. He had 100,000 men in all. Each of the flotilla had her own boats to land her men. Artillery and cavalry would have soon followed, and the whole would have arrived in London in three days. He armed the flotilla merely to deceive the English, and lead them to suppose that he intended them to fight their way across the Channel.

I told him that we expected to be treated with great severity in case of his succeeding, and many of us to be transported to France. I also asked him what he proposed to do after arriving in London. He replied that it was difficult to answer that question, for a people with spirit and energy like the English was not subdued even by taking possession of their capital. He would certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and the occupation of the capital would have been a deathblow to our funds, credit, and commerce.

He asked me to tell him frankly whether we were not alarmed at his preparations for invasion. I told him that the Ministers, as well as the army and navy, viewed them far more seriously than other persons, but never expected that he would be able to subdue us. We knew how confident he and the French were, the more from their successes against the people on the Continent, and that a regular army had a great superiority over inexperienced militia and volunteers; but that the greater part of the people in England were of opinion that nothing could overcome the latter, fighting for their homes and families. I also told him that he was not aware of the numerous

casualties attending an expedition by sea. This he would not admit. He had made all his calculations, and reduced his landing to a perfect certainty. After that it was like any other operation. I told him that many thought he intended first to take Dover, and establish himself there as a sort of tête-de-pont. He said he had no such plan. To land soon and march at once to London was the only plan he had formed.

I told him that many were of opinion he never intended to attempt an invasion of England at all; that it was merely to intimidate our Ministers, to shake our credit, and prepare his army for other operations which were thereby masked. Others thought he was glad of the excuse to march against the Austrians, being convinced an invasion was impracticable. He denied this, and said he certainly intended to put his plans into execution, being only diverted from them by the Austrians.

May 15.—The feeling of the inhabitants had previously been very inimical to the late Government of France, and personally to Napoleon, so that he certainly required the French troops for his protection, until his Guards arrived from France. My present information induces me to believe that the spirit of dislike towards Napoleon has subsided. The *éclat* given to him on landing, by the salute of His Britannic Majesty's frigate, and other marks of attention and protection which he has evidently sought for all along, on purpose to make an impression on the minds of the people, have contributed materially to the change of feeling. The principal inhabitants have also been impressed with the opinion, that the possession of the island by Napoleon will afford them extraordinary resources and advantages; which opinion has extended itself to all classes, and they ascribe to his residence the communications which have already been opened with the mainland.

May 16.—I inquired of Count Bertrand the history

of the Order of the Three Golden Fleeces—'l'Ordre des Trois Toisons d'Or.' He told me that it was never carried into effect — in consequence of the Emperor's last marriage—for fear of giving offence to Austria. The Duke of Burgundy had first instituted the Order, and his daughter married into the family of Austria, who kept it up. It was afterwards established in Spain after the War of Succession. Napoleon thought France had a prior right to either Austria or Spain, and therefore meant to institute it with an inscription commemorating his entry twice into Vienna and once into Madrid; from which he termed it 'Les *Trois* Toisons.' He intended to have established the Order in every regiment. No person could receive it unless he had been wounded three times in three different actions.

In the evening of this day a drawing-room, 'cercle de dames,' was held at Napoleon's house. About fifty or sixty females assembled in their best dresses, and placed themselves on each side of the saloon in chairs, with the gentlemen standing behind them. When Napoleon entered they stood up. Accompanied by the chief of the National Guard and the Préfet, he went round the whole party, asking a question of each female after her name was announced—if unmarried, as to her father; if married, how many children she had. After this farce was played off he spoke to two or three of the gentlemen who were nearest him at the end of the room, and at last walked off, apparently impressed with the ridiculous nature of the scene. The ladies were then handed off by their beaux. I recognised close to me a young girl, in company with her two sisters, whom I had seen at their house a few days before, having employed them to work embroidery upon a uniform coat.

The wives of the two French Generals were there, but those of several other French *employés* are reserved for a similar invitation some days following. This has given

great offence to the latter. They say that the inhabitants of Elba are very jealous of their receiving places in the new administration of the island, and that Napoleon is forgetful of his former friends. This neglect seems inconsistent, if he hopes to resume his influence in France.

A Council of State has been formed, consisting of the twelve principal inhabitants, Generals Bertrand and Drouot, and the Intendant-General.

There are six officers of the rank of captain and subaltern, as orderly officers (*officiers d'ordonnance*), two of whom are on duty daily. If Napoleon walks or rides abroad, they accompany him, and one always sleeps at his door, 'in case of despatches arriving during the night.'

Four chamberlains are named, consisting of the mayors of Porto Ferrajo and Rio, the commandant of the National Guard, and another principal inhabitant of the island.

All the soldiers composing the garrison of Elba, who are not Frenchmen, such as Tuscans, Italians, &c., have been discharged, and sent to Piombino. General Duval likewise sailed for Marseilles last week with the small remainder of the French garrison, excepting the gunners, who remain here until the arrival of the Guards, who reached Savona upon the 13th. From thence they are to be conveyed to Elba in transports sent out from Genoa this day by Sir E. Pellew. The military of the island will ultimately consist of the 600 volunteers of the French Guards, and 1,200 of a sort of militia, called the Corps Franc, which formerly existed. One half of this corps is to be on permanent duty, receiving daily pay; the other half will parade on Sunday only.

May 17.—H.M.S. 'Undaunted,' Captain Usher, sailed for Frejus to-day, to bring back the Princess Pauline.

Napoleon told me that, in his opinion, the Russian Army has never recovered from its losses at the battle of Borodino, where he killed an immense number of their best troops—50,000 of them.

In speaking of some of his successes against the Allies in the last campaign, with very inferior forces, he told me smiling, with an air of triumph, 'J'ai commandé en quatre-vingt-cinq batailles rangées et plus de six cents combats.'[7]

May 18.—Napoleon went upon a tour of the greatest part of the island, accompanied by two chamberlains, two officers of ordnance, one captain of gendarmes, the intendant-general and mayor, the president of the law-court and his secretary, General Bertrand, a lieutenant of the British Navy, the Austrian aide-de-camp, and myself. We visited, among other places, Marchiana di Marina, where there was a 'Te Deum.'

May 19.—Visited Marchiana, Pogio, Campo, and a chapel of the Virgin on the summit of a hill. At each of these four places we had Divine Service. At dinner Napoleon said to me, 'A présent vous allez si souvent à l'église que vous deviendrez dévot.'[8]

During all these visits he was received with firing of musketry and cannon, triumphal arches with inscriptions, processions of priests bearing a canopy, and accompanied by young girls and children strewing flowers, who led him into the church. He breakfasted and dined with half a dozen select persons. In the evening there was a ball, which however he did not attend.

May 20.—To an island, Pia Nosa, which Napoleon took possession of as a dependency of Elba. He carried two horses with him, and rode out at two different times to examine every part of the island. We dined altogether on the grass under a sail, he at one extremity, seated at a small table with his hat on.

In returning he visited a small rock about musket-shot from the harbour of Pia Nosa. He was informed that the 'Sea-Horse' frigate, when she attacked this place, had

[7] 'I have commanded in eighty-five pitched battles, and more than six hundred combats.'

[8] 'You now go so often to church that you will become a devotee.'

mounted two guns upon the summit. He attempted to ascend it, but after getting up half-way, although assisted occasionally both by the lieutenant of the Navy and myself, was obliged to desist. Indefatigable as he is, his corpulency prevents him from walking much, and he is obliged to take the arm of some person on rough roads.

We left Pia Nosa at sunset, supped at Campo, and arrived at Porto Ferrajo after midnight.

May 21.—The valet de chambre, sent in the 'Curaçoa' on the 9th, charged with a letter for the Viceroy of Italy, returned here some days ago. He told me that he did not think it consistent with his own personal safety to proceed farther than Genoa, having been advised to change his dress, and not inform who he was. He had therefore gone on to Leghorn, and returned here, bringing back the letter for Beauharnais. I suspect that part of his mission was to obtain information with respect to furniture in a palace near Leghorn (public property), which had been placed at Napoleon's disposal, and which he had requested Captain Usher to allow one of his officers to convey here in the British frigate. With this demand Captain Usher and myself did not judge it advisable to comply.

I have reason to believe that a Neapolitan officer has been here privately; for a person in that uniform was seen to enter Napoleon's house about two weeks ago, and from my not being able to trace him, it appears that pains have been taken to conceal the circumstance.

I had already remarked the early anxiety which Napoleon evinced to place himself in communication with Murat and Beauharnais, and shall direct my attention to it.

In a conversation with General Bertrand, in which he vaunted the great qualities of Napoleon, he—without any hint on my part—said that Napoleon was not sanguinary, but acted solely from motives of patriotism; that the death of the Duc d'Enghien was not from personal enmity,

but was necessary to secure his crown; and that similar steps had been taken by other sovereigns at all periods. I made no reply. General Bertrand then commented upon Napoleon's military genius; that nothing could withstand the rapidity of his movements and the justness of his combinations, by which he assembled his corps in the rear of his enemy without giving him time to oppose the unexpected attack; that the same manœuvre took place at Jena and several other of his principal actions.

May 22.—Napoleon told me that he had taken Malta by a *coup de main*;[9] that the inhabitants were so intimidated 'par le nom de ces républicains, mangeurs d'hommes,'[1] that they all took refuge within the fortifications, with cattle and every living animal in the island. This created so much confusion and dismay, that they were incapable of opposition.

He requested me to write to the consul at Algiers, to secure the respect due to his flag, agreeably to the treaty.

May 23.—I have received a letter from the Admiral, dated Genoa, May 19, in which he states that he had sent transports to Savona for the Guards of Napoleon. He expects to be off this place in a few days, on his voyage to Sicily, with Lord William Bentinck on board. I shall take that opportunity of waiting upon them, to give every information in my power, and to obtain the advantage of their counsel.

May 24.—Four officers of the 20th Dragoons, of whom two were in the former uniform of their regiment, were presented to Napoleon by me. After separating from them he remarked this difference, and I informed him that great changes had taken place in the British uniforms, which were generally ascribed to the Duke of Cumberland. He told me that at Tilsit he was surprised to find the

[9] June 12, 1798, the island being then under the dominion of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.—ED.

[1] 'By the name of those republicans, man-eaters.'

minute attention which the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia gave to uniforms. They counted the number of buttons upon his coat, and knew more concerning the French uniforms than he did himself. 'Tous ces changements font beaucoup de dépenses inutiles aux officiers, et fatiguent les esprits des soldats. Je ne me suis jamais occupé de cela. A Potzdam j'ai trouvé dans la bibliothèque au moins vingt shakos de différentes espèces rassemblés là par le Roi de Prusse!'[2]

H. M. brig 'Swallow,' Captain James, arrived. After presenting him to Napoleon, I acquainted the latter with the fact that many of the ships of the fleet were already sent home. 'Ah! à présent il faut diminuer les dettes,'[3] he observed, laughing.

When I informed him that some regiments were about to be sent to America,[4] he inquired whether it was intended to conquer a part of the American States. I told him that perhaps our Ministers might consider it right to add to our possessions in Canada. He observed that he thought it probable they would take possession of Louisiana, as a barrier against any encroachment which the Americans might make from that side upon the Spanish colonies, and in view of disturbances which might facilitate such possession.

May 25.—Arrived H.M.S. 'Undaunted,' Captain Usher. He states that, on his arrival at Frejus, he found that the Princess Pauline had some days before sailed for Naples, with a Rear-Admiral of the King of Naples' Navy. The 'Curaçoa' was anchored at Nice, and Captain Tower

[2] 'All these changes cause much useless expense to the officers, and tire out the spirit of the soldiers. I have never troubled myself with that sort of thing. At Potzdam I found in the library at least twenty caps of different kinds, brought together there by the King of Prussia.'

[3] 'Ah! now it is necessary to lessen the public debt.'

[4] 'Three regiments of Wellington's army, the 4th, 44th, and 85th, were embarked at Bordeaux on the 2nd of June [1814].'—Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. ch. lxxvi.—ED.

had gone by land to Frejus for the same purpose (to convey the Princess to Elba), but he also was too late.

In passing the forts the frigate was hailed, to know whether the Princess Pauline was on board.

Captain Usher, Captain James, and myself went up to Napoleon's house, where we found him with a chess-board playing with General Bertrand. The two chamberlains were looking on apparently very sulky. Those two men were interrupted from attending to their private affairs, or being with their families, for 1,200 livres a year.

Napoleon only asked two or three formal questions of Captain Usher, when he invited him and me to walk with him, and passed through several apartments to the garden. As it was very dark and rainy—by the bye, he would not have trusted himself there with everyone—he returned to the house, and went into his bedchamber.

He then inquired with great eagerness, What was the news? What was passing in France? What said the people at Frejus? Did he see any French troops, or troops of the Allies? One question was scarcely answered before it was succeeded by another.

Captain Usher stated that there had been riots at Nice between French and Austrian officers; that many persons at Frejus inquired anxiously for His Majesty; that some commercial arrangements were going on, in order to give France the advantage of the duties immediately; and that the manufacturers of France had made representations with regard to the encouragement wanting to them, which proved the justice of H. M.'s statements on that subject, and the observations he had often made. He showed the strongest exultation at all this, and chuckled with joy.

Captain Usher informed him of the remark of the King of France, that he did not expect any war, but that if there was, goutified as he was, he would put himself at the head of his marshals. He laughed heartily. 'Ha!

ha! Les maréchaux et l'armée se trouveraient bien commandés.'[5]

Napoleon inquired whether the Prince Regent was coming to Paris, and on being informed that it was understood to be his own desire, but that the consent of Parliament had not yet been obtained, he said, 'Oh! je ne crois pas qu'il vienne. Le peuple d'Angleterre ne sera pas trop content que son Souverain ait trop de connaissance de ces autres rois d'Europe.'[6] He inquired whether Lord Castlereagh was still in Paris, and whether the Parliament had yet assembled?

Captain Usher remarked that he thought the people of France had shown great ingratitude towards him. He said, 'Oh! c'est un peuple léger.'[7]

Captain Usher informed him that Antwerp was occupied by a British garrison. 'Ah! vous trouverez là 40 vaisseaux et 4,000 pièces de canon.'[8] I told him that it would be decided at the general treaty, what was to become of Antwerp. The possession would only be for the moment. He replied, smiling, 'Oh! ils sont à vous, ils sont dans vos mains.'[9]

Captain Usher said that, at the peace, France would only retain thirteen ships of the line and twenty frigates. Napoleon remarked that all the other Powers were increased, while France was now reduced beyond all proportion. 'Mais même cela ne fait pas autant de tort à la nation que son déshonneur—de recevoir un roi de ses ennemis!'[1]

When informed that there was a misunderstanding about the laurels worn in France by the Allies, and that

[5] 'The marshals and the army will find themselves well commanded!'

[6] 'Oh! I do not think that he will come. The people of England will not be over-pleased at their sovereign having too much acquaintance with those other kings of Europe.'

[7] 'Oh! they are a fickle people.'

[8] 'Ah! you will find there 40 vessels, and 4,000 pieces of cannon.'

[9] 'Oh! They are yours. They are in your hands.'

[1] 'But even that is not doing such a wrong to the nation as their dishonour in receiving a king from their enemies!'

they had been taken out by order of Alexander in presence of the King of France—he laughed with a contemptuous smile, and spat on the floor, adding that certainly that settled the question. 'Mais qu'est-ce que sont ces lauriers des Autrichiens? Ils les ont portés toujours en Italie, au moment que je les ai battus et chassés partout.'[2]

Captain Usher told him that the people at Frejus said, no one believed the frigate had carried him to Elba. I remarked that the officers of the Navy sent from Toulon said the same. He laughed, and inquired what they thought had become of us? Did they suppose we had carried him to England? Captain Usher told him that the people of Frejus said we had seduced him, for he preferred going in our frigate. He took this in good part. 'What! did they say I had now become an Englishman?'

On it being remarked that he had many adherents still in France, he said, 'Oh! l'Empereur est mort. Je ne suis plus rien.'[3] However, immediately afterwards he told us, that not one of his Guards had deserted him; that at Lyons hundreds of persons had gone out to meet them; and that the Austrians found it prudent to be under arms.

He was extremely inquisitive as to the force sent to America. When Captain Usher told him that 25,000 men were sent from Lord Wellington's army, and that the Americans had lost in him their best friend, he asked whether it was intended to subjugate them entirely, for such a force could not be meant only to oblige them to make peace. He again expressed his opinion, that our Ministers intended to take Louisiana and Florida.

Napoleon, as usual, blended his observations with something amusing. He asked, for instance, what the old

[2] 'But what do these laurels of the Austrians mean? They wore them always in Italy, at the very moment when I had beaten them, and driven them away in every direction.'

[3] 'Oh! the Emperor is dead. I am no longer anything.'

King of England would now say to the new American war? Was he in such a state as to reflect upon it? If he was, no doubt he would exult at the humiliation of the Americans.

He asked whether there were any accounts from Corfu; and whether we had not sent an expedition against it?[4] He had certainly heard so, or supposed so, for he affected to ask the question with an assurance of our conviction that such expedition had taken place.

The French frigate 'Dryade' and the brig 'Inconstant' arrived here to-day from Toulon. The former will return, but the brig remains, conformably to the treaty.

May 26.—This morning, at 6 A.M., Napoleon went quite unexpectedly on board of the French frigate 'Dryade,' and the crew hailed him with cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' This, I am told, placed the captain in a very awkward situation. It was not a visit to the captain personally, for he had anchored on the preceding afternoon, and then Napoleon declined seeing him, when he waited upon him, until the following morning at 10 A.M. So that it was certainly done to try the disposition of the Navy, and to keep up a recollection of him in France.

Napoleon also visited the British frigate 'Undaunted,' and made a speech to the crew. He thanked them for the good-will with which they had performed their duties during the voyage, said that he felt himself under obligations to them for the period he had been on board, which he had passed so happily, and that he wished them every success and happiness. He sent them, in the course of the day, 1,000 bottles of wine and 1,000 dollars, and presented

[4] 'In 1807, General Berthier, with a French force of 17,000 men, arrived at Corfu, and drove out the Russians, or, as some say, occupied it under the connivance of Alexander; he was shortly after relieved by General Donzelot, who commanded until the arrival of the British in 1814, when Corfu surrendered to our arms on conditional terms.'—Montgomery Martin, *Hist. of British Colonies*, vol. v. ch. iii.—ED.

Captain Usher with a box containing his portrait set in diamonds. Napoleon speaks most gratefully to everyone of the facilities which have been granted to him by the British Government; and to myself personally he constantly expresses the sense he entertains of the superior qualities which the British nation possesses over every other.

Five British transports arrived here this morning from Savona, with about 750 volunteers of Napoleon's Guards, his horses, and baggage.

To-day I informed General Bertrand that, in case either Napoleon himself or others might ascribe any underhand motive to my remaining here, I was ready to quit the island at once, should such be his wish; that I had only remained after the other Commissioners in order to procure for him those facilities which he had requested, through me, from the British Admiral.

After repeating my conversation to Napoleon, General Bertrand was directed to assure me that my remaining with him after the departure of the other Commissioners was indispensable for his protection and security, in obedience to Lord Castlereagh's instructions; that even after the arrival of his troops and baggage, there was another article of the treaty not fulfilled, although guaranteed by the Allied Sovereigns, and the execution of which depended entirely upon His Britannic Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, viz. the security of his flag against insult from the powers of Barbary; that it would be necessary for me to communicate with the Consul at Algiers and the Admiral, as soon as possible, for that object. I requested that he would address the application to me in writing, and stated that I would prolong my stay in the hope of receiving further instructions from Lord Castlereagh, not having heard from his lordship since I left Fontainebleau.

May 27.—To-day I received the following note:

'*Note adressée au Colonel Campbell par le Comte Bertrand.*

'Le Colonel Campbell est prié de vouloir bien envoyer à Alger le pavillon de l'île d'Elbe, en faisant connaître au Consul de S. M. britannique que les Puissances alliées se sont engagées à faire respecter ce pavillon, et qu'il doit être traité par les Puissances barbaresques à l'égal de celui de la France.

'La présence du Colonel Campbell à Porto-Ferrajo paraît indispensable, vu la grande quantité de bâtiments anglais de guerre, de transport et de commerce, qui viennent mouiller dans l'île.

'A cette occasion je ne puis que réitérer au Colonel Campbell combien sa personne et sa présence sont agréables à l'Empereur Napoléon.[5]

(Signé) 'LE COMTE BERTRAND.

'Porto-Ferrajo, 27e mai 1814.'

I at once despatched a copy of the above to Lord Castlereagh, stating at the same time that I awaited his lordship's commands in regard to the prolongation of my stay.

Napoleon sometimes, in conversation with me, while remarking on public affairs, throws off all restraint, and expresses himself so openly as to leave no doubt of his expecting that circumstances may yet call him to the throne of France. He says that France is humiliated even beyond what, in his opinion, the interest of the Allies

[5] 'Colonel Campbell is requested to be good enough to send to Algiers the flag of the island of Elba, informing the Consul of His Britannic Majesty that the Allied Powers have engaged among themselves to have that flag respected, and that it ought to be treated by the Barbary Powers upon an equality with that of France.

'The presence of Colonel Campbell at Porto Ferrajo appears indispensable, seeing the great number of English ships of war, of transport, and of commerce, which come and anchor in the island.

'On this occasion I can only reiterate to Colonel Campbell how much his person and his presence are agreeable to the Emperor Napoleon.'

should have prescribed; that more might have been left to her with equal security towards her neighbours, and without the risk of exasperating the people; that the family of the Bourbons will be driven out in six months, on account of the disadvantageous treaty with Great Britain. In addition, the minds of the people are very unsettled. If a portion were for the Bourbons, it was only the emigrants, and persons of ancient titles and property; while the greater number of the population and the whole of the army are for himself. The Guards had received unequivocal proofs of this on the march, particularly at Lyons, where 2,000 of the inhabitants came out to welcome them. Napoleon certainly regrets that he gave up the contest, and has almost declared to me that, had he known the spirit and power of Augereau's army, and that its exertions were only paralysed by the defection of that Marshal, he would have joined it, and carried the war into Italy.

However, his ties of esteem towards all his marshals appear to have diminished. A few days ago he described to me their respective good and bad qualities. St. Cyr and Massena ranked highest in his list. He regretted that he had not left his marshals unemployed (for they were tired of war), and sought for younger chiefs among his other generals and colonels: this, he said, was his ruin.

I have never seen a man in any situation of life with so much personal activity and restless perseverance. He appears to take so much pleasure in perpetual movement, and in seeing those who accompany him sink under fatigue, as has been the case on several occasions when I have accompanied him. I do not think it possible for him to sit down to study, on any pursuits of retirement, as proclaimed by him to be his intention, so long as his state of health permits corporeal exercise. After being yesterday on foot in the heat of the sun, from 5 A.M. to 3 P.M., visiting the frigates and transports, and even going down to the

hold among the horses, he rode on horseback for three hours, as he told me afterwards, 'pour se défatiguer!' These details show, that if opportunities for warfare upon a great scale and for important objects do not present themselves, he is likely to avail himself of any others, in order to indulge this passion from mere recklessness. His thoughts seem to dwell perpetually upon the operations of war.

Napoleon appears very anxious to know the extent of the British forces reported to be lately sent against America. When informed by an officer of the Navy, that 25,000 men were sent from Spain, he said that this must be intended against Louisiana or Florida; that he had no doubt of a civil war in Spain, that her provinces in South America would separate from her, and that these would form a sort of barrier for Great Britain to prevent the encroachments of the United States.

Upon landing here, Napoleon's plan was to prepare a very large house in the town for his residence. He afterwards changed to a very small one, requiring much less labour, which he already inhabits. He has not made any such arrangements as evince any expectation of his being joined by Marie-Louise, nor has he mentioned her name in any way.

The small island, called Pia Nosa, which Napoleon has taken possession of, is about fifteen English miles south of Elba, and has generally been considered a dependency of it. There are no inhabitants at present, but Napoleon means to place some upon it for the cultivation of grain, with a small garrison to protect them against pirates.

May 28.—Went to sea with Captain James, of H. M. brig 'Swallow,' in hopes of seeing Lord William Bentinck and Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, as the latter had directed him to look out for him near Porto Ferrajo in the beginning of June, but unfortunately they passed on their way from Genoa to Sicily without being seen by us.

May 29–31.—Upon my return to Porto Ferrajo, I found at anchor the Neapolitan frigate, 'Letitia,' which had arrived the day before with Napoleon's sister Pauline, wife of Prince Borghese, and three persons of her household. They had been forced to put into Villa Franca, near Nice, soon after their departure from Frejus, and had come direct from thence. After remaining for twenty-four hours at Elba, they sailed for Naples. They were at pains to state that the Neapolitan frigate had been sent by the Queen of Naples of her own accord for her sister. Napoleon went on board the frigate on her arrival, when he was received with cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' and the yards were manned.

June 1.—M. Ricci, who was formerly British vice-consul at the port of Longono, under an appointment from Mr. Davenport, consul-general at Naples, has lately returned here, and has applied for permission to resume his functions. He has produced unquestionable testimony favourable to his character, as well as proof of his having suffered oppression at the hands of the French Government in consequence of the appointment he formerly held, being thus reduced from affluence to poverty, with a numerous family. After very minute inquiries relative to these circumstances, I submitted his name to Lord Castlereagh for the appointment of consul in the island of Elba.

June 2.—A British merchant-vessel from Malta, bound to Leghorn, was captured by a privateer of Porto Ferrajo, and brought in there on April 14. As soon as the communications with Elba were opened after Napoleon's arrival, the Board of Health at Leghorn applied to the public authorities at Elba to send over the captured vessel to perform quarantine. A lazaretto had been established at Leghorn for many years, and it is one of the few places where persons or property arriving from ports infected with the plague can be purified. Instead of complying, the cargo was disembarked, and placed in a retired part of the fortifications close to the sea, under a guard. The

governor of Leghorn, General Spannochi, who is also president of the Board of Health, accordingly put Elba into a quarantine of twenty-five days, which still continues; and this has been followed by Genoa, Marseilles, and Corsica, and probably by every other port of the Mediterranean.

After Corsica had put Elba in quarantine of ten days in deference to Leghorn (as is the custom with all minor places), Napoleon retaliated by laying the same upon Corsica, but withdrew it in a few days. His alleged motive was a fever which raged there, but of which no other person ever heard.

Napoleon, a few days after his arrival here, at the suggestion of some person devoid of reflection and information, selected a spot in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo, in an insulated position, and directed it to be immediately prepared for a public lazaretto, alleging that vessels would come there in preference to Leghorn to be purified by quarantine, as the locality was so favourable; that this would occasion a great assemblage of vessels, and consequently become a considerable source of revenue. He therefore ascribes the measures pursued by Leghorn as arising from jealousy of his projects, and from commercial intrigue. So General Bertrand and he himself told me. And he persists in refusing compliance with long-established practice, although it cuts off his communication with every other part of the world, except by clandestine means, to his own loss and inconvenience, as well as that of every other person in this island.

June 3.—At Napoleon's request I went to Leghorn in the 'Swallow' brig, to convey an application from the Intendant-General of Elba to the Board of Health. This I was enabled to do under the usual precautions, without landing. From their explanations and those of the British men-of-war stationed there, I ascertained, to my perfect conviction, that Napoleon's suspicions of commercial intrigue are without the slightest foundation; that it is against the

interest of Leghorn to be deprived of open communication, for the supplies of every kind required by Elba are derived from thence. Leghorn too, being a mercantile town of considerable importance, the credit given by every other port in the world to the honour and probity of the Board of Health is in proportion to that consequence. And therefore Porto Ferrajo cannot vie with Leghorn until its commercial importance becomes superior, and the lazaretto shall be transferred there in accordance with the unanimous opinion of the mercantile world. I did not interfere in the question further than by affording the means of communication between the two parties, and ascertaining for my own information, from the best sources, the real state of the case, which I candidly submitted to Napoleon on my return.

Since that, General Bertrand has assured me that Napoleon never interfered in the matter, leaving it to the public authorities to act according to their judgment and experience. This, I trust, may be considered as a proof of his being inclined to concede.

June 4.—This being the anniversary of His Majesty's birthday, it was celebrated by the two captains of the British ships, 'Curaçoa' and 'Swallow,' in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo. A royal salute was fired, the yards were manned, and three cheers given. The royal standard was hoisted on the main, the flag of Louis XVIII. on the fore, and that of Elba on the mizen. The French frigate 'Dryade,' which was in harbour for the purpose of conveying General d'Alhesme and the remainder of the garrison to France, displayed the British ensign at the fore, and Napoleon's brig did the same during the whole of the day. In the evening a ball was given on board the 'Curaçoa,' where Generals Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne, of Napoleon's household, as well as the principal inhabitants, attended. About nine at night, during the festivities, it was announced that Napoleon was approaching in his barge. He

remained for an hour, and visited every part of the ship.

June 5–12.—Napoleon continues in the same state of perpetual movement, busy with constant schemes, none of which, however, tend to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. He has ordered several pieces of road to be improved for the conveyance of his carriage, without any other object, and new ones to be executed, limiting the period to a particular hour by which they were to be finished, and appropriating no funds for the payment of the peasants who have been hastily assembled on the requisition of the mayors.

He has even employed his own Guards, who came from France, on fatigue duties, such as destroying houses for the improvement of his own residence, and working upon the pavement of the streets. This has given great disgust.

He has demanded of the inhabitants to pay, in the course of this month, the contributions from September 1, 1813, to May 1, 1814. This has occasioned unusual outcry and supplications, but without avail. Such is the poverty of the inhabitants, that most of them will be obliged to sell their houses, furniture, and clothing, in order to raise money.

In riding lately near a village, I saw a collection of the inhabitants insulting the tax-gatherer with shouting and the sound of horns. He has been informed that he will be again sent back very soon to levy the contributions, and that 100 of the Guards are to accompany him, to live upon the inhabitants at free quarters until the required sum is paid.

Napoleon appears to become more unpopular on the island every day, for every act seems guided by avarice and a feeling of personal interest, with a total disregard to that of others. The inhabitants perceive that none of his schemes tend to ameliorate their situation, and

that while the blessings of peace have restored to their neighbours commerce, a ready sale for the produce of their labours, exemption from contributions and from military service, they derive none of these advantages by Napoleon's arrival among them. The cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' are no longer heard, notwithstanding the study to give popular effect to every movement, and the formation of a court from among the principal inhabitants. People exclaim against his oppression and injustice,—so much so that if his restlessness is not tempered by more discretion, nothing but the military force of his Guards will prevent the inhabitants from rising against him.

I am likewise of opinion, that even the attachment of his Guards to him diminishes daily. They will soon tire of having expatriated themselves; and as all the officers were confident of his being called to the throne of France in a very few months, they perceive daily that there is less prospect of realising the expectations formed upon these grounds. One of the private soldiers some days ago said in my hearing, upon being asked how he liked the island of Elba, 'C'est un bon refuge pour un renard;' another said it was a desert; a third, who was destined to go to the uninhabited island of Pia Nosa with the first detachment, said to me that, rather than remain there according to Napoleon's scheme (marrying and cultivating a piece of ground), he would blow his brains out. This expedition, consisting of thirty men of the Guards and ten of the Free Corps, was sent from Elba upon the 9th instant, with several pieces of cannon, one mortar and ammunition, and with fascines to form fortifications in case of an attack from the Algerine pirates, which is to be apprehended.

M. Pons, a Frenchman, who formerly served in the army as a chef de bataillon, has for some years past held the management of the iron mines in Elba,[6] the produce

[6] 'Ilva . . . . . .
An isle renowned for steel and unexhausted mines.'
Dryden's *Virgil's Æneid*, x.—ED.

of which netted annually to Government about 350,000 livres. His appointment, his character, and talents justly entitled him to the first consideration in the island. He paid every tribute of respect to Napoleon upon his arrival, and having a wife and children, it was his intention to have remained in the administration of the mines until the state of France was more established. But he is so disgusted with Napoleon's proceedings, that he now intends to return at once.

Napoleon applied to M. Pons for payment of money derived from the mines previous to his arrival. This demand was evaded, then declined, and afterwards peremptorily refused. The conversation became so loud that it was heard in the adjoining rooms. At length M. Pons told him: 'Sire, cet argent n'est pas à ma disposition; il appartient à la France, et trois cent mille baïonnettes ne me forceront pas de le rendre en d'autres mains.'[7]

The poor peasants employed at the mines work until midday; and, having small wages, are allowed patches of ground, which they cultivate for the rest of the day upon their own account. Napoleon wished to employ them upon the roads after their labour in the mines was finished. This M. Pons refused to allow, although repeatedly urged.

Napoleon gave orders to send a vessel with iron ore to the United States of America, but this has not been executed. What renders the proposition more absurd is, that it is not iron which is exported from Elba, but the ore precisely in its original state. There are no furnaces for extracting and fabricating the iron, on account of the want of fuel. The wages of all the superintendents of the mines, as well as of many other persons holding inferior appointments in the island, have been reduced one-fourth, without any regard to age or other circumstances.

[7] 'Sire, this money is not at my disposal; it belongs to France, and three hundred thousand bayonets shall not force me to give it into other hands.'

As the whole of the island was in revolt against the Government of France previously to Napoleon's arrival, M. Pons removed his wife and family to Porto Ferrajo, within the fortifications. Upon their return lately to their residence at the mines, the workmen and others met them in procession, strewed the road with flowers, and accompanied M. Pons to his house, which had been carefully preserved during his absence. This was reported to Napoleon, who sneeringly took notice of it the first time he saw M. Pons, and told him, 'Vous avez été reçu comme monarque.'[8] The other replied, 'Comme père, Sire.'[9] About the same time Napoleon received M. Pons and his wife to dinner, as he has done lately a few of the principal inhabitants. Madame Pons being in mourning, he inquired for whom she wore that dress. Being told for a parent, he laughed and said, 'Celles sont de belles choses.'[1]

All these circumstances were related to me by M. Pons himself, or derived from other sources; and I have every reason to credit them. I notice them as tending to throw light upon the character and conduct of this extraordinary man in his new situation, which do not seem to have altered the least by a change of circumstances. The more he is brought upon a level with others, and the more the opportunities of observing him, the more unfavourably does he appear.

General Drouot, a man of talent and merit,[2] who commanded the artillery of the Guards, and accompanied Napoleon here, applied some time ago for leave to resign

[8] 'You have been received like a monarch.'

[9] 'As a father, Sire.'

[1] 'Those are fine things.'

Napoleon, however, must eventually have succeeded in attaching M. Pons to his interests, as the name will be observed amongst those of the persons who accompanied him in his escape.—ED.

[2] It is related of Drouot that 'he always carried a bible with him. It was on his person in battle, and the reading of it constituted his chief delight. He made no secret of this among the staff of the Emperor, which showed more courage than to face a battery.'—ED.

the situation of governor, to which he was appointed on his arrival, stating in his letter that he had followed him to his retreat merely from attachment, that his income was sufficient without the emoluments of governor, and that he was desirous of prosecuting his studies. This desire has been refused, on account of which and his disapproval of the way in which matters are carried on, it is his intention to make some pretext soon for going to France. Several of Napoleon's servants have already returned to France, disgusted with the island and with their treatment. M. Pellard, the principal valet de chambre, has also left this; but as it was on good terms, with the promise of returning again, he may perhaps have been sent on some mission to Paris, which he told me was his destination. M. Gatte, apothecary to Napoleon, who accompanied us from Fontainebleau to Elba, has lately disappeared. They give out that he went to Leghorn in quarantine to purchase medicines. I shall probably be able to ascertain this.

The organisation of the military force does not keep pace with Napoleon's wishes. Most of the Free Corps of the island have either sold or lost their arms, accoutrements, and clothing; and very few have come forward to serve since the first inspection, upon which occasion the new terms of service were made known to them. About thirty or forty officers of the French garrison, belonging to the 35th Regiment of Infantry and the 3rd Regiment of Étrangers, have remained here in consequence of offers of service from Napoleon. Since their comrades left, they have been informed that they must go to Italy, or the islands adjoining, to obtain recruits, otherwise that their pay will be stopped. Some of them, who are natives of Corsica, have already gone there. Of this I have given information to General Montresor.

June 13.—General Bertrand showed me, in one of the French journals, a paragraph, wherein it was stated

that the rank of colonel on the Continent and in Elba has been conferred upon me. I am induced to believe that this may have been copied from the 'London Gazette,' and that therefore my remaining here is the pleasure of the Prince Regent, although I have not received any orders to that effect. General Bertrand remarked at the same time, that the appointment would be very agreeable to Napoleon, who continues to show it by his civilities and marks of attention.

STATISTICS RELATING TO THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

I. STATE OF THE REVENUE.

1. *Administration of the Mines.*

The only mine which is wrought in the island is one of iron at Rio, opposite to the coast of Italy. This is managed by an administrator, who directs the whole establishment, a treasurer, two storekeepers, and four superintendents of the workmen.

This is the most valuable source of revenue in Elba, and it nets annually the sum of 500,000 francs.

The emoluments of the persons employed are as follows:

The administrator, 15,000 francs a year, and 6,000 francs for his table, on account of expenses from travellers.

The treasurer, 4,000 francs. The two storekeepers, 1,000 francs each.

The four superintendents, 900 francs each, a year.

The other expenses consist of the wages of the workmen, who dig out the iron, and transport it to the sea, for which there are employed 400 men, with 100 horses and oxen. These workmen receive daily 1 franc 20 centimes. They labour from daylight till midday. The rest of the day is at their own disposal, and they employ it in tilling small patches of ground appropriated to their vines and vegetables. Napoleon wished to curtail this time. There are likewise 40 invalids, either superannuated, or who have been disabled at the mines. These have wages and ground, equally as if in active employment.

Loadstone is found in some parts.

2. *Tunny Fisheries.*

There are two fisheries of the tunny, one in Porto Ferrajo, the other near Marchiana. These net annually 24,000 francs.

3. *Salt Ponds.*

The only salt ponds now in use are at Porto Ferrajo. These net annually 50,000 francs. Those at Longono have not been permitted for many years, in consequence of the insalubrity produced by them; but Napoleon has ordered them to be re-established.

4. *Contributions directes.*

This is a tax paid upon the productions of the soil by every inhabitant, chiefly upon wine and oil. It nets about 25,000 francs annually. The person who levies this duty receives two per cent upon the whole sum which he collects.

5. *Droits d'Enregistrement et du Timbre.*

This source of revenue yields annually about 30,000 francs, and consists of sums paid for all acts and transactions which are rendered valid by a public registrar.

6. *Administration sanitaire.* (*Administration of Health.*)

This administration is under the direction of the intendant of the island, formerly called sous-préfet. In each port there are two deputies, who collect from all vessels a fixed sum, according to their tonnage. This tax nets about 15,000 francs.

7. *Productions.*

The chief productions are wine and fruits, which are cultivated in the valleys, and on the lower slopes of the hills, for the upper parts are incapable of cultivation, being rocky, with very little soil of a poor quality. The produce in wine is, at an average, about 150,000 barrels yearly, each barrel weighing about 120 lbs. Tuscan of liquid, but too delicate for foreign exportation.

II. ADMINISTRATION.

Previously to the arrival of Napoleon, the island was considered an arrondissement or district, directed by a sous-préfet, who superintended the administration, and the execution of all laws. There was a council which regulated the contributions.

The sous-préfet's salary was 4,000 francs annually. Since the arrival of Napoleon, the sous-préfet assumes the title of intendant-general.

III. JURISDICTION.

There is a tribunal composed of a president, a procureur impérial, and two judges. The salaries of the two former are 3,000 francs a year, and of the two latter 2,000 francs each.

IV. MILITARY FORCE.

The Imperial Guards, who volunteered to accompany Napoleon from France, consist of about 600 infantry, with officers in proportion.

There is also a battalion composed of inhabitants of Elba, formed into five companies of 80 men each, including officers, or 400 in all. Their pay is understood to be as follows:

Chef de Bataillon	2,000 francs a year.
Capitaine	1,200 „
Lieutenant	1,000 „
Sous-Lieutenant	900 „

There are several officers at Longono engaged in the formation of this battalion. They are chiefly Corsicans. Five of them left Longono on June 6, for Corsica, to procure recruits. Their names are, Salerni (Captain), Moltedo (Lieutenant), Gabrielli (Lieutenant), Caviglioli (Lieutenant), Restorien (Sub-Lieutenant).

The corps is to be completed to 1,000 men.

ABSTRACT.

Revenue:	Francs.
Iron Mines	500,000
Tunny Fisheries	24,000
Direct Contributions	25,000
Registers	30,000
Administration of Health	15,000
Salt Ponds	50,000
Total revenue . . .	644,000

To be deducted for Public Charges:

	Francs.
Salary of Intendant-General	4,000
„ Président, Procureur, &c.	10,000

Free battalion (without men):

	Francs.	
Chief	2,000	
5 Captains at 1,200 francs . .	6,000	
5 Lieutenants at 1,000 „ . . .	5,000	
5 Sous-Lieutenants at 900 „ . . .	4,500	
	——	17,500
Total expenses . .		31,500

If the battalion is increased to 1,000 men:

Double the pay of officers	17,500
Pay of 1,500 men, (in round numbers, including the Guards,) with rations, but without clothing . .	1,095,000
Total	1,144,000

The pay of the Guards is 30 sous, or 1½ franc a day, and, with bread, say in all, 2 francs.

In the preceding estimate, the pay of three Generals, and all the officers of the Guards, the chamberlains of the household, &c., are not included.

CHAPTER IV.

FLORENCE—COUNT STAHREMBERG—ROME—INTERVIEWS WITH THE POPE—RETURNS TO LEGHORN—DISCOVERY OF NAPOLEON'S SECRET AGENTS—ESCORTS MADAME MÈRE AND SUITE TO ELBA.

JUNE 30.—Florence. Having obtained an opportunity of evading the quarantine, I thought it advisable to come to Leghorn, and then to this place, in order to establish an acquaintance with Mr. Grant, the late British Vice-consul, and Mr. Felton acting *pro tempore*, for the security at once of my correspondence and for information.

I have likewise made a short detour to the baths of Lucca, on account of increasing deafness and general derangement of health, caused by the wounds in my head and back. Of late I have had an immensity of correspondence in a public way, keeping my journal to assist my memory, writing my despatches, and taking copies of them, obtaining information from a variety of parties in Italy. I have no one to assist me, and when I write long, there is a wearisome feeling which becomes very unpleasant, from the muscles in my back not having yet acquired their tone. This tour to Florence and Rome will relieve my mind, and prove a very acceptable release from the sultry confinement of Elba, besides assisting me in my public duties, which luckily do not require my banishing myself entirely in that island.

After establishing Napoleon there, according to Lord Castlereagh's instructions, I have still considered it my duty to prolong my stay, in order to judge of his intentions, and not to quit Elba until directed by His Majesty's Ministers. Besides, my remaining is in compliance with

Napoleon's own request, communicated to me both verbally and by means of a formal note from Count Bertrand.

Various constructions, I find, have been attached by the agents of the different Governments in Italy to my continuing at Elba after the other Commissioners. The evident restlessness of Napoleon's disposition, his plans for sending out officers to various parts of Italy in order to recruit soldiers clandestinely, there being no British Minister in Italy, and indeed scarcely a public and recognised agent between Vienna and Sicily,—all this made me anxious to compare my suspicions with what information I could obtain on the Continent.

My visit here has gained me important advantages, more particularly with respect to General Count Stahremberg, of the Austrian service, who commands all the military force of Tuscany, Lucca, Piombino, &c., and who is also civil governor of all the country except Tuscany. I have found him extremely frank and perfectly unreserved. He showed me the reports which are regularly transmitted to him from Elba, so that my absence is of less consequence. He has also promised to write me if there is any particular occurrence within his command, connected with Napoleon, after my return to Elba.

The Princess Eliza and her husband General Bacchiochi, in evacuating their possessions, carried off most of the plate and furniture from several of the palaces. These were already on the road to Bologna, whither the entire family had fled, when Count Stahremberg, on his first arrival, ordered the whole to be transported back to this place, in order that the articles might be examined, verified, and restored to the several palaces, as might be found most just, to await the coming of the Grand Duke Ferdinand. After several letters had been written by the Princess Eliza, she likewise called to her aid the well-known Marquis Lucchesini,[1] formerly Minister of the King

[1] 'It is said that the first idea of the Legion of Honour arose in the breast of Napoleon on witnessing one day, from a window at

of Prussia, but finding all of no avail, she set off from Bologna to Vienna in order to see the Emperor of Austria. When within three posts she was prevented from proceeding on her journey, and it is said she is gone to Gratz in Styria to visit her brother. Marshal Bellegarde was much surprised and displeased when he was informed by the Austrian General commanding at Bologna that he had permitted her to go towards Vienna. His excuse was a letter from the Empress Marie-Louise to the Princess Eliza, inviting her, which the latter showed. The discarded favourites of the Bacchiochi family, who are scattered over Italy, triumphed over the other party, and gave out that the princess had been sent for by the Emperor of Austria to treat for an indemnification. At the head of the Bacchiochi party is the Marquis Lucchesini, who returned to Lucca, the place of his nativity, after quitting Prussia several years ago, and attached himself upon the most intimate terms to the household of that family. His son, a favourite of the Princess Eliza, accompanied her to Bologna.

Napoleon carries on a constant correspondence with his sister Eliza, as well as with Naples. Count Meyer, the Austrian Minister at Naples, lately sent to Count Stahremberg a letter from the Queen of Naples, and one from her sister the Princess Pauline, addressed to Napoleon, which they had requested him to forward. They were opened by the Count, and then sent on to their destination. They contained nothing worthy of remark, but the Count is convinced they were sent merely to blind their other correspondence, carried on through more direct and clandestine channels. Two couriers have for some time past been stationed by Napoleon at Piombino. They receive

the Tuileries, the admiration with which the crowd before the Palace regarded the stars and crosses worn by the Marquis Lucchesini, ambassador of Prussia, as he descended from his carriage.'—Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. ch. xvii.—ED.

his letter-bag separately from the other sent over in the packet-boat from Elba. These couriers carry his letters to Leghorn, where his agent transmits them to their various destinations. The Count has ordered that in future Napoleon's letters shall be received by the postmaster at Piombino only, and by him transmitted to the postmaster at Leghorn, *where no doubt they will receive that inspection which is made no secret of here!*

The reports from Elba since my departure state that Napoleon continues the same sort of life as before, engaged in perpetual exercise, and busy with projects of building, which, however, are not put into execution. Many artists have been flattered by expectations of employment, and have gone over from Italy to Elba, but are now starving in quarantine. It is said Napoleon wishes to change the name of Porto Ferrajo to Cosmopoli, City of the World; an equivocal use of the ancient name Cosimopoli, so called after Cosimo, one of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.

Count Stahremberg informed me that Murat keeps up the most active military preparations, and that he has certainly increased his army by more than 15,000 men since his return to Naples. He has several persons employed to induce the Austrians to desert, but although the fact is certain, the proof is not yet sufficient to detect these agents. A non-commissioned officer and fifteen privates, Austrians, lately deserted to him from Rome. Officers non-commissioned, and soldiers from France, Piedmont, and Italy, as well as other adventurers, are constantly passing through this place to join his army.

The public spirit in this part of Italy is not tranquil; for, notwithstanding there was an universal and violent dislike to the government of Bonaparte, the people view it now, when past, with less horror. In these States there was always an exemption from conscription; and besides, in consequence of ecclesiastical power having returned with the new order of things, many other impedi-

ments to the equal exercise of talent and privilege have been raised up. The civil governor of Tuscany is Prince Rospigliosi, a man of respectable talents and excellent private character, who was formerly chamberlain to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, but without experience in government and a bigot, a slave to religious ceremonies, and surrounded by priests. His system is to establish every regulation and institution which existed in the time of the Grand Duke, upsetting at the same time all changes which were introduced by the Queen of Etruria as well as by the Princess Eliza.[2] No provision is made for those who are removed from their situations. The Museum of Natural History, which was a private collection in the time of Ferdinand, received under the Queen of Etruria four professors to give lectures and instruction. These have received their dismissal, and no successors are to be appointed.

Priests and ecclesiastics of all descriptions have flocked here to resume their ancient customs, and claim their property. There are religious processions, church festivals and illuminations, three or four times a week, during which no labour is performed. One church contained 7,000 wax-candles of eighteen inches each in length. All orders and ages are mixed together in the crowds which throng the streets, the greater part of whom, however, attend for purposes of curiosity and intrigue. The works of Machiavelli and of several other writers, which were formerly considered improper for circulation, are again subjected to the same restrictions, and forbidden to be sold. Masonic

[2] The kingdom of Etruria was carved by Napoleon, after the Treaty of Luneville, February 1801, out of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and bestowed upon Don Louis, eldest son of the Duke of Parma, who had married the Infanta Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain. In 1807, Don Louis having died in the meantime, the Queen of Etruria and her son were expelled by order of Napoleon, and the restored Grand Duchy of Tuscany was given by him to his eldest sister, the Princess Eliza, wife of General Bacchiochi, in addition to those of Lucca and Piombino.—ED.

meetings are prohibited. The masters of the different eating-houses are directed to register the names of all such inhabitants as eat articles of food forbidden on certain days by the Roman Catholic religion. All this is criticised and disliked by the greater part of the people, who remark at the same time that the imposts are not diminished, notwithstanding the peace and the general expectations thereby excited.

The Austrians do not appear to be well liked by the Italians, and reports are constantly set afloat with regard to the neighbouring kingdom of Naples, as well as other parts of the country, which tend to prevent confidence and tranquillity. Thus it is said, that Napoleon is to possess Sardinia as a sovereignty; that the Allied Sovereigns have agreed to restore to the Princess Eliza and the Bacchiochi family all their palaces and places of residence at Lucca; that large bodies of Austrian troops are marching in this direction from the northward, supposed to be directed against Murat; that the British and the Sicilians are immediately to unite with them in an attack upon Naples.

I propose to mention these matters in my next despatch to Lord Castlereagh, for although they are foreign to my mission, yet as there is no person accredited by His Majesty's Government in this part of Europe, I think it my duty to state to his lordship all information connected with public affairs which comes within my own knowledge. To obtain this, with the opportunity also of escaping from quarantine, was one of my motives for absenting myself for a short time from Elba, and will, I trust, appear justifiable in his lordship's eyes. The period of quarantine to be performed by vessels from Elba to Leghorn is now reduced to fifteen days.

I am also in daily hopes of receiving instructions from Lord Castlereagh, containing his pleasure as to my remaining at Elba agreeably to Napoleon's wish.

July 1.—To-day I met, at the Countess of Albany's,

with Lucchesini, formerly friend of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and afterwards minister to the present King. He retired to Lucca after the campaign of Jena, whether of his own accord, or driven away by the King for insincerity, I know not. He then became the chief director of the household of the Princess Eliza. The Swedish Consul proposed to introduce him to me, but I declined.

Countess Albany is the widow of the Pretender, and resides here entirely. She is a charming, clever old lady, and receives the best company for conversation every evening.

July 2–10.—Again met, at Countess Albany's, Marquis Lucchesini and his wife. He placed himself close to me, and then entered into conversation about Napoleon. He did not express any kindness towards him; observed that he was great in a battle, and, wherever he went with his troops, that point would be carried, but that in other ways there were many men more capable.

He related to me the circumstances respecting the exile of General Grouchy from Paris. One day at court he represented to the Duke de Berri the hardship of depriving himself and the other colonels of the different arms of their appointments. The Duke told him, that although the titles of colonel were given to himself and the other Princes of the Blood, yet he (Grouchy) and the other inspectors-general would be the executive persons, and enjoy all the patronage and direction. During this conversation Marshal Marmont happened to approach, and joined in the remarks made by the Duke de Berri. General Grouchy told him pointedly, that he did not address himself to him. Marmont, however, continued in the same strain; on which General Grouchy repeated his observations, adding, 'Je vous ai déjà dit, ce n'est pas à vous que je m'adresse—*vous* qui avez le mépris de toute l'armée!'[3] An officer was there-

[3] 'I have told you already, it is not to you I am addressing myself —*you* that have the contempt of the whole army.'

upon sent from the King to inform General Grouchy, that he must know that, after the conversation which had passed, it was impossible for him to appear again at court, and therefore that he ought to quit Paris. He told the officer that this was not necessary in order to prevent a meeting between himself and Marmont: 'Car ce n'est pas avec lui, avec tel que le Maréchal Marmont, qu'on se rencontre.'[4]

Lucchesini appears about fifty, a thin man, about five feet nine inches in height, with a remarkably keen eye and acute physiognomy. His wife, a Prussian, is a very majestic, fine-looking woman, apparently striving to show her dignity from fear that circumstances may have diminished it. Lucchesini told a friend of mine that it gave him great pleasure to hear that the conduct of the Prussian army was so extolled by me.

Count Stahremberg had a parade of the troops, with a Te Deum. After the parade they were formed into a square, and he desired one of the Hungarian officers to address them with regard to their services and conduct. On the conclusion of this harangue, he gave out a cheer for the Emperor of Austria, and then, by way of compliment, one for England.

In the evening there was a ball, in the course of which Count Stahremberg received a despatch by courier from Vienna, acquainting him that the Emperor had ordered away the Princess Eliza when close to that city, and that she was gone to Gratz in Styria.

The Swedish Consul here told me that he had seen a letter written by Prince Metternich from Paris to the Princess Eliza in the strongest terms of kindness, and assuring her of the Emperor of Austria's protection. The contents were studiously propagated by her friends.

General Boulaschoff, of the Russian service, has arrived here from Naples on his way to Milan. Count Stahrem-

[4] 'It is not with *him*, with such as the Marshal Marmont, that one can have a meeting.'

berg told me he was going there in hopes to obtain from Marshal Bellegarde certain information, where a despatch would reach the Emperor Alexander. He was with Murat during the last campaign, and was directed to sign the treaty on the part of the Emperor of Russia, as soon as he should be convinced of his sincerity. He had hitherto evaded it, not being satisfied with the part which Murat had acted; and being now pressed by Murat's Ministers, he had found therein an additional reason for quitting Naples. He has left a General Tully to see what goes on. General Stahremberg himself is convinced of Murat's treachery; for, as soon as the Allies were unsuccessful in February last, he would not advance, and frequently sent officers privately to the Viceroy.

Prince Corsini has been sent for by the Grand Duke, and is ordered to proceed to Vienna immediately. He is a man much looked up to by his countrymen for his talents, and was formerly Conseiller d'État at Paris. Prince Molliterno Pignatelli, who accompanied the Queen of Sicily when she left that island, arrived here some days ago, and has since gone to Rome.

I met a gentleman in society here, who told me he was secretary to the Mayor of —— (I could not catch the name), a small town near Florence, from whence the family of Bonaparte originated. Some years ago he occupied himself in forming a genealogical tree of them. He found that they were sprung from an ancient and noble family, but which was afterwards subdivided into several branches, and became much reduced in circumstances. One of Napoleon's ancestors transferred himself to Corsica. This gentleman had reference made to the registers there, in order to complete the tree, and he found Napoleon's name inserted as Nicholas-Charles-Baptiste Napoléon. He presented this tree to the Princess Eliza, but received no remuneration.

Two of Captain Usher's officers came here, and called

upon the Commandant, desiring to know where the Empress Marie-Louise was. They stated that the 'Undaunted' had arrived at Leghorn for the purpose of conveying her from the coast to Elba. The same information was conveyed by the officers on board to Count Stahremberg, who wrote to me to express his surprise, as he knew nothing of it, and at the same time his chagrin, that such reports should be thereby propagated through Italy. I questioned the Admiral, who was at this time at Florence, about the matter. He appeared to have given permission to Captain Usher to receive the Empress on board if she came, but he was himself without any orders or information on the subject. After their return to Leghorn, Captain Coghlan wrote to me that the 'Alcmène' would, he believed, be appointed to that duty, as Captain Usher was going home; and he requested me to notify this to Count Bertrand.

July 11.—Arrived at Rome. Pursuing my intentions of seeing the different persons employed by His Majesty's Government in the vicinity of Elba, for the purpose of establishing secure and confidential communication with them, I came here to meet Mr. Fagan, who is employed by Lord William Bentinck. Previously to this I was afraid of entertaining unfair suspicions, and of ascribing more importance to Napoleon's restless activity than it might deserve. As his schemes begin to connect themselves so openly with the neighbouring continent, and my information from Elba is so very detailed and correct, I think the spirit of my duties will for the present be better fulfilled by not shutting myself up in quarantine. Lord Exmouth, the Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, has, for the purposes of my mission, been pleased to attach to the Elba station His Majesty's brig 'Swallow,' which enables me to communicate with all parts, and I propose to proceed to Sicily for a few days, to give Lord William Bentinck all the information in my power, and to benefit by his counsel as to my future proceedings.

Lucien Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, resides in this city, and Cardinal Fesch is now at his palace in company with his sister, Madame Mère. The latter, I understand, is not out of favour, but performs all his ecclesiastical functions.

Cardinal Mauri was refused an audience of the Pope, notwithstanding repeated applications; and then, after remaining here a short time, went off without leave or any kind of notification to His Holiness.

July 12.—Found here General Montresor, who had arrived some days before. He was brought from Corsica to Civita Vecchia by Captain Tower, of H.M.S. 'Curaçoa,' having touched at Elba and remained there one day. Captain Tower carried despatches from Napoleon to Madame Letitia, with a request that she should go in the 'Curaçoa' to Elba. He then proceeded by land to Naples, where he rejoined his ship, which had gone round from Civita Vecchia. Captain Tower visited the court of Murat, and was at an evening party. He is expected daily at Rome, in order to accompany Madame Letitia to Civita Vecchia, and from thence convey her in his frigate to Elba.

July 13.—Went to Civita Vecchia, forty-nine miles distant from Rome, for the purpose of seeing Captain James, of His Majesty's brig 'Swallow.'

July 14.—Returned to Rome at 5 P.M.

Captain James informs me that the sergeant-major of Napoleon's Guards had deserted from Elba to the Continent, carrying with him 3,000 francs, the chest of the corps; that M. Fayade had gone to sea lately, in the direction of Pia Nosa, when a firing was heard near that, and it was said that he had been taken by the Algerines; that, soon after the French troops arrived from Toulon in Corsica, a party of them carried off two vessels by stealth, and deserted to Elba.

Upon one occasion of Captain James's return to Elba from the Continent, General Bertrand asked for 'Colonel Campbell.' When told that I was travelling in Italy, but

would be back soon, he immediately began to inform Captain James that he had had a great dispute (*bataille*) with the Emperor, and shut the door, but he was interrupted.

July 15.—Went to the palace of the Quirinal in company with Mr. Fagan. We were first led into a waiting-room, where were collected a few ecclesiastics. The door of the adjoining room was opened, upon which two of these gentlemen desired us to walk in, and accompanied us. The Pope[5] rose from his chair. We approached bowing, and he too advanced; then held out his hand, but with great modesty, while we bent down as if to kiss it. He has a very placid kindly countenance, but is apparently very feeble. He was dressed in a long white dress, like a *robe de chambre*, tied round the waist. He expressed (in Italian) great pleasure at seeing us, and then, after a few questions as to where we were from, and where we were going, went on to express great uneasiness at Bonaparte being so near Italy. We took our leave bowing low, and he escorted us a few paces.

July 16.—The King, Charles IV., and Queen of Spain, the Queen of Etruria, and the Prince of Peace, are in this city, where they have resided for some time. I sent my card to the Grand Chamberlain.

July 17 and 18.—The variety of interests in Italy, the weakness of the Government in the Roman States, the unsettled condition of the kingdom of Naples, the vicinity of Elba to the Continent, which forms the residence of several members of Bonaparte's family—all these various circumstances keep up a ferment, and occasion a concourse of Bonaparte's partisans and other adventurers to this part of the world. This increases every day, and all possible means are taken to disseminate the idea of Bonaparte's future return to influence and power, so that the

[5] Detained a prisoner at Fontainebleau ever since 1809, Pius VII. had been released in January 1813, but it was not until after Napoleon's abdication that he was actually restored to his own dominions.—ED.

impression becomes only too general. Various parties of recruits have been sent over to Elba from Italy, and a whole family have been arrested in Leghorn, who had in their possession two lists of men ready to serve Napoleon, to the number of 300 on each.

Having received much confidential and useful information from Count Stahremberg, I have, with a reciprocal view, given him the names of the Italian officers who have passed over to Elba.

Mr. Fagan informs me that the Neapolitan troops still occupy the marches of Ancona, notwithstanding various representations for their removal have been made by the Pope, and commit the greatest possible excesses. They lately marched from 15,000 to 20,000 men to another point of the frontier of the Roman States, but suddenly halted without transgressing the line.

July 19.—Visited Cardinal Fesch, and told him that, as I was returning to Elba, I should be happy to convey to Napoleon any letters from himself or Madame Mère. He told me that his sister had arranged her journey by land to the coast of Italy at a point nearest Elba, when Captain Tower arrived, and of himself offered to carry herself, her suite, and all her baggage, adding that he would give her two days' notice. The Cardinal said he had recommended her to accept the offer. I told him I was persuaded Captain Tower had acted with good intentions, but without reflection; for there were regulations in the Navy, that no foreigners could be conveyed in His Majesty's ships without regular applications and permission from those of superior authority. Besides, the brig attached to the Elba station had left orders for him to proceed immediately to join the Admiral, and then proceed to England.

July 20.—Waited upon the Pope, for the purpose of presenting Captain James of His Majesty's ship 'Swallow.' He received us in bed, sitting up with a pillow behind his back, although he had sent to all the Ministers

to notify that his indisposition would prevent him from seeing anyone. He spoke with uneasiness of Bonaparte being so near the coast of Italy, but expressed great admiration of England for the steady and consistent policy she had pursued. Notwithstanding his apprehensions of Napoleon and Murat, he placed all his confidence in our Government. He asked whether I had heard any news from Paris respecting Talleyrand. When I replied in the negative, he said he was disgraced, and that he was very sorry to hear it. I found afterwards that he had received a despatch from Cardinal Consalvi at Paris in seven days.

Two days ago a courier passed through here on his way from Paris to Murat. He called himself secretary of the Queen.

June 21.—There have arrived here the Duke of Filangieri, going to Paris on a mission from Murat, and the Duke of ——, who gives out that he is deputed to attend the Congress at Vienna. The former belongs to the household, and is a general of brigade. The latter is a general of division, who was out of favour with Joseph on account of his attachment to Ferdinand, but afterwards entered into Murat's service, and went to Russia, where he lost several of his toes and fingers by frost.

Lucien Bonaparte has applied to the Pope for the title of Prince of Canino. He pays evening visits, and leaves cards simply as 'Luciano Bonaparte.' Louis Bonaparte is expected here about August 10, and intends likewise to settle at Rome.

July 22.—Went from Rome to Civita Vecchia.

July 23.—Sailed in His Majesty's brig 'Swallow.'

July 25.—Touched at Elba, and saw General Bertrand, who asked me to remain for twenty-four hours; but I could not land on account of the quarantine.

A person called Ludovico Ennis showed me a passport from Lord William Bentinck, to enable him to go to Genoa. In the body of the passport he is called Vice-

consul at the island of Elba. He had announced himself as such at Porto Ferrajo. I recommended him to proceed to his destination, unless he had powers to show in addition to his passport!

A Polish officer stated to M. Ricci at Longono, some days ago, that, after he was released from prison in Austria, he went to see the Empress Marie-Louise, having a secret rendezvous with her. He then received letters from her, the Empress of Austria, and the young King of Rome for Napoleon, and also a nut from the Archduke Charles containing a ribbon. Couriers were sent after him to Milan, where he was apprehended and searched, but he had hidden the letters in his boot, and the nut was covered like a ball of silk. He says he is to be sent away from Elba soon with despatches. The Pole must vaunt these falsehoods to give himself consequence. The Empress of Austria and Marie-Louise, as is well known, are not on terms, and therefore could not be together.

About two weeks ago the curates in the different churches notified that the contributions which were demanded some time ago ought to be paid before the first of August. This created great disturbances, even in the churches, and a great number of persons have in consequence been apprehended. The Grand Vicaire is a near relation of Napoleon's.

July 26–28.—Landed at Leghorn, and remained there to await the expected arrival of Madame Mère.

July 29.—Arrived Madame Mère and suite in two carriages, with six horses to each. She came from Rome, and travelled under the name of Madame Dupont, accompanied by M. Colonna, lately Préfet at Naples, which office, however, as a Frenchman, he was obliged to resign when that Government declared war against France.

July 30.—Received a visit from M. Colonna and M. Bartolucci, an Italian, resident in Leghorn, and formerly member of the Municipality under the French. They

requested a passage for Madame in a man-of-war. Among the reasons alleged for this appeal were, the disappointment of a passage in another of His Majesty's ships, Napoleon's corvette being absent at Genoa, and these seas being infested with Algerine pirates. I promised to speak to the captain of the corvette attached to my mission, who accordingly acquiesced.

M. Colonna paid me a complimentary call to thank me on the part of Madame, and to say that a visit would be very acceptable. Promised to attend in the evening.

July 31.—Visited Madame, in company with Captain Battersby, of H.M.S. 'Grasshopper.' She got up, as if with difficulty, some seconds after our approach, and made us sit down upon chairs close to her. M. Colonna, her agent M. Bartolucci, and two ladies, entered and sat down soon afterwards. I addressed her as 'Madame' and 'Altesse.' She was very pleasant and unaffected. The old lady is very handsome, of middle size, with a good figure and fresh colour.

She spoke much of the Empress Marie-Louise, of her being at the baths of Aix, and of her bad health, with many sighs and expressions of great regard, as if her separation from Napoleon was not voluntary on her part. Madame Bartolucci, she said, had received a letter from the Austrian General who commands at Parma, saying that Marie-Louise had advised him of her intention to be there early in September.

I mentioned to Madame, in the course of conversation, that the papers stated that the Duchess of Montebello had returned to France. She said it was so; and that there was now only one of all her French attendants who remained with her. After remaining for half an hour, we bowed and went off. Madame will sail to-morrow or next day, and I intend to accompany her.

The quarantine is from to-day taken off the island of Elba, and unlimited intercourse is now open, as no in-

fection has been communicated by the vessels from Malta, which had been captured and carried into Porto Ferrajo in April last.

I have this day received the following despatch from Lord Castlereagh :—

'London : Foreign Office, July 15, 1814.

'Sir,—Your despatches to No. 21 inclusive, of the 13th ult., have been received, and laid before the Prince Regent.

'I am to desire that you will continue to consider yourself as British resident in Elba, without assuming any further official character than that in which you are already received, and that you would pursue the same line of conduct and communication with this department, which, I am happy to acquaint you, have already received His Royal Highness's approbation. I am, &c.,

(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.

'Colonel Campbell, &c. &c.'

August 1.—Visited by the Commandant of the place, who gave me the whole history of the persons apprehended for enrolling recruits for Napoleon.

An officer of the late Régiment d'Étrangers of Elba, a native of Lucca, called Quedlicci, employed a Corsican of the name of Imbricco, resident in Leghorn, to enrol Tuscan non-commissioned officers and privates for a battalion to be formed in Elba. The lists were found, and the soldiers engaged deposed to the facts.

Letters have also been intercepted from Guasco, chef de bataillon at Longono, entering into details as to the application of money for this object, and mentioning that only seven recruits had arrived from Tuscany.

A Captain Dumont, a Piedmontese, arrived from Elba, stating that he was going home, and had quitted Napoleon's service. Having burnt a quantity of papers in the lazaretto he was detained, with his papers and baggage,

after coming out of quarantine. Thereupon he claimed his liberty as an officer of Napoleon's army. Nothing more criminal could be proved against him, but it is evident he was going to Piedmont on a like service, as he wished to dissemble it at first, and to pretend that he had quitted Napoleon's service.

It is known that there are other agents on the same service at Florence, and dispersed through the different parts of Italy. These are watched, until sufficient proofs can be obtained of their employment.

Received from General Count Stahremberg, commanding in Tuscany and Lucca, the following letter:[6]

'Lucques: 30e de juillet 1814.

'Cher Colonel,—J'ai reçu vos lettres de Rome et de Livourne avec le plus sensible plaisir. Je ne pourrais assez vous remercier des nouvelles intéressantes que vous avez bien voulu me communiquer. Je vous aurais répondu à Rome, si vous ne m'aviez instruit de votre prompte départ de cette ville. Comme mes affaires m'empêchent de venir pour le moment à Livourne, pour avoir le plaisir de vous voir, et pour causer sur des affaires de haute importance, je dois le faire par écrit. Vous saurez qu'un certain Imbricco et Capitaine Dumont ont été arrêtés à Livourne, convaincus comme enrôleurs pour l'île d'Elbe. Ils avaient déjà engagé plusieurs sujets toscans, en leur donnant 100 francs d'engagements. J'ai découvert qu'il y

6 *Translation by Sir Neil Campbell.*

'Lucca: July 30, 1814.

'Dear Colonel,—I have received your letter from Rome and from Leghorn with the most lively pleasure. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the interesting news which you have had the goodness to communicate to me. I should have answered your letter to Rome if you had not informed me of your immediate departure from thence. As business prevents my coming at present to Leghorn, to have the pleasure of conversing with you upon affairs of high importance, I must now do it by writing. You must know that a certain Imbricco and Captain Dumont have been arrested at Leghorn, convicted of having enrolled for the island of Elba. They had already engaged many Tuscan subjects, by giving them 100 francs for enlistment. I

avait une bande de ces coquins le long des côtes, et même jusqu'en Piémont, pour débaucher les sujets pour le service de Napoléon. Je me donne toutes les peines possibles pour découvrir toute cette canaille. On en arrêtera aussi trois à Massa et Carrara convaincus d'enrôlement, et j'ai nommé une commission militaire à Livourne pour juger ces individus avec la plus grande sévérité. J'ai cru devoir faire sur cet objet de haute importance un rapport très-fort à son Excellence le Maréchal Comte Bellegarde, en lui démontrant que Napoléon prouve par tous ses manœvres qu'il ne restera jamais tranquille, et que sa présence à l'île d'Elbe, vu ses connexions avec Naples, et avec tous ces aventuriers (qui, comme vous dites très-bien, le servent dans l'espérance qu'il retournera encore à son ancienne grandeur), sera toujours très-dangereuse pour le repos d'Italie. Il faut employer tous les moyens pour rester toujours au fait de ce qui se passe à l'île, et vous m'obligerez infiniment en communiquant ce que vous en savez. Vous me dites que vous avez été en discussion avec les capitaines de marine concernant le voyage de Madame Letitia à l'île d'Elbe. Je viens de recevoir le rapport qu'elle a

have discovered that there was a whole band of these rascals all along the coast, even as far as Piedmont, to corrupt the subjects for the service of Napoleon. I take all possible trouble to discover all this rabble. There have also been three arrested at Massa and Carrara, convicted of having enlisted, and I have named a military commission at Leghorn to try these individuals with the greatest severity. I have thought it my duty to make a very strong representation to His Excellency Marshal Count Bellegarde upon a subject of such high importance, showing him that all these manœuvres of Napoleon prove that he will never remain quiet, and that his presence in the island of Elba (from his connection with Naples, and with all these adventurers, who, as you very justly remark, "serve him in the hope that he will yet recover his former greatness") will always be very dangerous for the tranquillity of Italy. Every possible means must be employed in order to be constantly well informed of all that goes on in the island of Elba, and you will exceedingly oblige me by communicating to me whatever you know. You inform me that you have had discussions with the captains of the Navy respecting the voyage of Madame Letitia to the island of Elba. I have just received notice that yesterday, at seven in the

passé hier, à sept heures du soir, Pise, pour se rendre à Livourne. On lui a donné à Pise une escorte de quatre hussards, ce que j'ai très-désapprouvé. Je vous prie, cher Campbell, de me faire savoir si c'est avec votre autorisation, ou celle de Lebzethern qu'elle vient à Livourne, et si vous la ferez passer de là à l'île, pour que je puisse prendre mes mesures. Il me serait impossible de la souffrir longtemps, surtout avec sa suite, à Livourne. C'est beaucoup trop prêt et trop dangereux. Je reçois derechef des réclamations réitérées des côtes, de Piombino jusque vers Livourne, sur les inquiétudes qu'éprouvent les habitants, vu l'apparition d'une flotille barbaresque. Je crois que c'est également un manége de Napoléon pour inquiéter ces pays. Je vous prie de vouloir engager les capitaines des bâtiments anglais comme alliés, de protéger autant que possible ces côtes. S'il est possible, je viendrai vous voir—peut-être mardi, avant mon retour à Florence.

'Agréez en attendant l'assurance des sentiments de la plus haute considération, et de l'attachement le plus sincère.

(Signé) 'LE COMTE DE STAHREMBERG.'

evening, she passed through Pisa on her way to Leghorn. At Pisa an escort of four hussars was given to her, of which I disapproved very much. I request of you, dear Campbell, to acquaint me whether it is by your authority, or by that of Lebzethern,* that she has come to Leghorn, and whether you will convey her to Elba, in order that I may adopt my measures. It is not possible that I can permit her to remain long, above all with her suite. It is much too near and too dangerous.

'I receive endless pressing representations from the coast, from Piombino to Leghorn, of the uneasiness which the inhabitants experience by the appearance of the Barbary pirates. I do believe that it is equally a trick of Napoleon to disturb this country. I beg of you to be so good as to engage the captains of the British men-of-war as our allies to protect these coasts to their utmost. If it is possible, I will come and see you—perhaps on Tuesday, before my return to Florence.

'Accept my assurances of the utmost consideration, and of the most sincere attachment.

'COUNT STAHREMBERG.'

* The Austrian Minister at Rome.

August 2.—Embarked in His Majesty's brig 'Grasshopper,' Captain Battersby, with Madame Letitia, M. Colonna, and two dames d'honneur, and landed at Elba the same evening.

In leaving the inn at Leghorn to walk to the boat, M. Colonna took the arm of Madame with his hat off all the way. Captain Battersby and myself took the arms of the two ladies with our hats on. Crowds followed us, and, on quitting the shore, a number of persons hooted, and whistled, and hissed.

Captain Battersby and two of his officers, M. Saveira a passenger, and myself, all dined with Madame upon deck. A couch was arranged for her, from which she never stirred during the whole voyage, except once to look out for Napoleon's house, when she mounted upon the top of a gun with great activity.

She told me that Napoleon was first intended for the navy, and studied for it at Brienne with a certain proportion of the other pupils. She went to see him there, and found that they all slept in hammocks; upon which she prevented his pursuing that line, and said all she could to dissuade him from it. 'Mon enfant, dans la marine vous avez à combattre le feu et l'eau!'[7] He was then fourteen or fifteen years of age.

She had had a great desire, she said, to visit England for many years. She had formed a particular friendship with one English family at Montpellier, whose address she had kept, but now lost, and forgotten the name. She had opportunities likewise of seeing several others, and particularly Mrs. Cosing (?), the wife of a painter. Her son Lucien spoke very favourably of England. At first he was

[7] 'My son, in the navy you have to contend with fire and water.'

In a report, 1783, from the masters of the school at Brienne, recommending 'M. de Bonaparte [Napoleon], born August 15, 1769,' to the Royal Military School at Paris, occur these words: 'Would make an excellent sea-officer.' See Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 6, *note*.—ED.

treated with suspicion, and laid under restrictions, which was unpleasant; but afterwards he found himself quite happy, and formed very agreeable friendships. He has written a poem respecting the 'Saracens in Corsica,' and another entitled 'Charlemagne.'

Louis seems to be a great favourite of hers. His picture is on her snuff-box. She said he had written several romances, which she admired, and was sure would be generally esteemed, such as would be fit for young ladies to read. Spoke of his fortune as being small, although he did not spend money either on play or women—'ni jeu ni femmes!' Her eldest son she called 'le roi Joseph.'

She mentioned that she had been very ill-treated by the Minister of the Interior in France, who wished to take her house in Paris for 600,000 in the place of 800,000 francs. She only wished for what it had cost her. The Minister told her agent, that if she would not take that sum, she would repent of it. She wrote him, 'that she would never give up her rights and property, nor bend to the caprice of an individual.' If the Minister took it by force, she would enter a protestation formally, and then take her chance of justice. She hinted at the treaty, and the guarantee of all the Allied Powers. M. Colonna said her agent should give in a representation to the English Ambassador.

On anchoring in the harbour, a valet of Napoleon, the master of the port, and others came off. They said that Napoleon had been expecting his mother the whole of the preceding day, and had that morning early gone to a mountain at some distance. The ship's boat being manned, and no one coming off to say where Madame would be received, I proposed to M. Colonna to send a boat with a message to General Bertrand, or Drouot, to announce her arrival. When he asked her approbation to that, she seemed greatly agitated and mortified at no one coming to her on their part, and gave her assent with

great violence, turning round quite pale and huffed. At length Generals Bertrand and Drouot arrived. The Captain and myself disembarked with her. All the officers of the Imperial Guard, the Mayor, &c., received her at the wharf, and from that to Napoleon's house the streets were lined. She went up in a carriage, with her dames; we in another, with six horses to each.

The contributions were to be paid by August 1, or enforced by military execution. This was notified by criers in every village ten days before, and subsequently to that a similar announcement was made in the churches. Very few persons, however, have paid, and great disturbances have been created.

Napoleon has purchased a considerable tract of land in the richest valley, in the name of Monsieur Lapis; that is, he values the spots belonging to many small proprietors, and orders the act to be drawn out. They have represented the impossibility of removing their families, cattle, goats, &c., to other situations; since which Napoleon has told them they may remain.

A priest of the island went to M. Ricci, and asked whether England would not interfere to prevent the exactions of Napoleon, and whether the inhabitants might not send him a memorial to that effect, to be given to me!

CHAPTER V.

INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON IN COMPANY WITH CAPTAIN BATTERSBY—GOES TO LEGHORN TO MEET ADMIRAL HALLOWELL—ARREST OF EMISSARIES—LETTER FROM COUNT STAHREMBERG—DESPATCH FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH—DECLARATION OF WAR BY DEY OF ALGIERS—INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL AND MADAME BERTRAND—CONVERSATION, ON SEPTEMBER 16, OF THREE HOURS WITH NAPOLEON—ARRIVAL OF POLISH LADY AND CHILD AT ELBA—HABITS OF NAPOLEON—GOES TO FLORENCE, AND IS PRESENTED TO THE GRAND DUKE.

AUGUST 3.—This morning General Bertrand informed me that at 9 P.M. the Emperor would receive Captain Battersby, M. Saveira, and myself.

On arriving at the palace, the sentry stopped us until the officer on duty with the guard came out. On telling him we were there by appointment, he showed us into an antechamber, and called the aide-de-camp on duty, who said he could not announce us at that moment, as the Emperor was playing at a game with his mother and the Grand Maréchal. He requested us to sit down; but when I repeated that we came by appointment—that it was of no consequence, but he could inform the Grand Maréchal we had been there—he became very uneasy for fear of my going away—begged me to have the goodness to stay one moment—said that the Emperor would see us directly—how much regard he had for me! how much he esteemed the British nation! &c. &c. We remained about ten minutes more, and then I said I would go to call on General Drouot, whose house was very near, and would return again. Just as we were going out—which ap-

peared to cause them the utmost anxiety—another officer came running out to the door to say the Emperor wished to see us. We were accordingly ushered into a room, when Napoleon immediately appeared from an adjoining one. He bowed to us, and came up tripping and smiling. Asked me how I did?—said I had got fatter. Was I quite well? Where had I been. 'Quelles nouvelles? Vous venez donc pour rester quelques jours avec nous?'[1]

I told him I had made a short tour in Italy, and had been at the baths of Lucca. 'Avez-vous eu le déluge (shower-bath)?' 'No; I had applied the water in a stream through a pipe.'

Had I been at Rome? Had I seen the Pope? He was a good man. Bon moine, old and feeble. Had he been sick? I said he had a swelling in his legs, and that the last time I saw him he was sitting up in bed. He laughed, and made a joke about the cause of the Pope's indisposition. Then he went on: 'Ils sont très-malheureux dans ces États. C'est l'intérêt de l'Angleterre de former un royaume d'Italie. N'est-ce pas? Cela doit être. Eh?'[2] I told him that whatever might be the interest of England, any interference of us Protestants with the head of the Roman Catholic Church would be peculiarly obnoxious: 'Ah! vous pouvez faire comme vous voudrez. N'avez-vous pas quelques nouvelles?'[3] I told him Sicily was given up entirely to the King, and that all the Ministers had been changed immediately. He asked where the Queen was? Whether she had returned? Where Lord William Bentinck was? Whether he had gone home, or was to remain at Genoa? Who was to succeed him as Minister at the Court of Palermo? Whether it was intended to withdraw the whole of the British troops? 'La

[1] 'What news? You are come, then, to stay some days with us?'

[2] 'They are very miserable in those States. It is the interest of England to form a kingdom of Italy. Is it not so? That ought to be.'

[3] 'Ah! you can do as you like. Have you not any news?'

possession de ce pays ne vous conviendrait pas. Les petites îles sont mieux pour l'Angleterre.'[4]

He remarked that the English were not popular in Sicily. Our religion was always in our way with respect to these Catholics. I felt inclined to ask him if he had found it so in the case of Spain and Portugal, but in regard to Sicily I admitted that our measures there had not been received with that popularity, or met with that success, which had been expected: 'Rien de nouveau d'Angleterre? Le mariage de la jeune princesse n'aura pas lieu donc? Ah! A ce qu'il me semble, vous avez le prospect d'une belle reine.'[5] He seemed to exult, and said, 'Le Régent a voulu la gronder par rapport au mariage.'[6] 'Je n'ai pas entendu dire cela, Sire,'[7] I replied. 'Oui, c'est dans mes journaux que j'ai reçus de Gênes. Elle se jeta dans un fiacre. Elle a une tête et un tempérament chauds. Il faut trouver un mari pour elle.'[8] I said, Yes; but I did not think the union with the Prince of Orange was a matter of importance either to England or Holland. We must find another husband for her. He asked, 'Why does she not marry one of her cousins? Has the Duke of York no sons? I told him, No. Her only cousin among our own Princes was the Duke of Gloucester, and it was said she never liked him. If she did not marry, I hoped she would

[4] 'The possession of that country would not suit you. The small islands are better for England.'

[5] 'Is there nothing new from England? The marriage of the young Princess will not take place, then? Ah! So far as appears to me, you have the prospect of a fine Queen.'

[6] 'The Regent was inclined to scold her with respect to her marriage.'

[7] 'I have not heard that stated, Sire.'

[8] 'Yes, it is in my newspapers which I have received from Genoa. She threw herself into a hackney-coach. She is hot-headed and of a warm temperament. They must find a husband for her.'

July 13, 1814. 'All London were startled by hearing that the Princess Charlotte had, on the previous evening, left Warwick House unobserved, and gone off in a hackney-coach to the Princess of Wales, in Connaught Place.'—*Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian*, pp. 112, 113.—ED.

prove a second Catherine of Russia. He said he did not believe the Prince of Orange had ever liked her; that some time ago he intercepted several of his letters to his father, wherein he expressed himself that 'il n'a pas voulu être mari d'une reine sans être roi.'[9] I said that I did not believe any objections to the marriage had arisen on his part.

He asked me to get some English papers for him. I replied that I would order him one weekly from Leghorn.

He told me he saw, by extracts from them, the Regent's approval of my wearing my Russian orders.

On presenting Captain Battersby, I added that he was very happy to have had the honour of conveying Madame. Napoleon thanked him, and spoke of the very pleasant passage she had had. I remarked I was particularly glad to hear that, as she had experienced so much delay from the expectations Captain Tower had held out to her; but that there were orders in search of him during three weeks to go home, and that it was necessary for him to return immediately.

He spoke of the disappointment and inconvenience she experienced at present from the want of her effects, which had been detained at the mouth of the Tiber by a corsair preventing the vessel from sailing. I told him that the Tuscan and Roman Governments, and all the people along the coast, were alarmed on account of these corsairs, but that they often fancied other vessels tacking in towards the shore belonged to them. He asked Captain Battersby whether he had seen any. He said 'No; but there certainly were some about.'

Seeing the conversation flagging, I told Napoleon that I had lately received despatches in reply to mine, informing Government that he had requested me to remain after the departure of the other Commissioners, and that I was happy to say H. R. H. the Prince Regent approved of

[9] 'He was not willing to be the husband of a queen without being king.'

my continuing at the island of Elba. He only nodded and said, 'Ah, ah!'

On parting he nodded, and, smiling, said to me, 'Au plaisir de vous revoir!' then turned round and went to the adjoining room.

In talking to the officer of the guard, while waiting for the interview with Napoleon, I asked him whether the officers and men enjoyed good health, or whether they suffered from the air of the salt-ponds? He said, No, for that they were all acclimatised. They had campaigned in such a variety of countries—in Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Italy, and Russia,—'dans tous les pays excepté le vôtre.'[1] I said, 'Aye, but I should think the cold of Russia was a bad preparation for the heat of Italy.' 'Ah! c'est vrai, ce sont les extrémités.'[2] I had him there, I thought, but it did not excite any awkwardness, for he followed it up with compliments to myself and the British nation.

In going out this evening after dinner, on our way to Napoleon's house, we saw a small display of fireworks in the streets, distributed probably by him to celebrate the arrival of his mother.

There is a theatre of very small size here, and there were in it to-night about fifty or sixty persons.

August 4.—As the man-of-war was to return to-day to Leghorn, where Admiral Hallowell was expected, I determined to go over to see him. Besides that, I understood that the discontent excited among the inhabitants against the contributions was very great, and I considered it better to absent myself for a time. A priest had proposed to give me a representation to be transmitted to the British Government, praying for their interference. Very few of the inhabitants have yet paid, notwithstanding the threats of military execution which are held out.

[1] 'In all countries except yours.'

[2] 'Ah! that is true; those are the extremities.'

August 5.—Disembarked at Leghorn.

August 6.—Admiral Hallowell has not arrived, but is daily expected.

August 7–12.—There is a Count Guicchardi here. I met him first at dinner at the Governor's, and afterwards frequently in society. He was French minister of police at Milan, and one of the deputies who went to Paris to propose that the kingdom of Italy should be governed by the Duke of Modena, the cousin of the Emperor of Austria, as an independent sovereign, or by some other Prince connected with the Allies. This proposition, however, was not made until *after* Bonaparte's abdication, when of course the Italians could not help themselves. Count Guicchardi has probably come here until the popular fury at Milan against the former French authorities has subsided. He wishes, I can see, to flatter me greatly, and asks whether England will not do something for the Italians, by restoring to them a kingdom, and rescuing them from the intolerable oppression of the Austrians. I told him they had been too late with their propositions, which ought to have been made *before* the Allies entered Paris. He and other Italians say that many wished to rid themselves of Bonaparte, and the connection with the French last year, and particularly after Murat declared himself, it was proposed to act in concert with him; but there was no proper head, nor sufficient energy. Everyone spoke and thought the same, but they did not act.

The Consul of the late kingdom of Italy, who was resident at Leghorn, is still here, and speaks the same sentiments. He is a Venetian named Alberti, a clever man, but violent against the Austrians and the partition of Venice made under the Treaty of Campo Formio.

The Marquis Prié, belonging to one of the first families at Turin, tells me that until after Eugène's return from the Russian campaign he was adored by the people. After that period he showed a want of confidence in the Italians;

their troops were not trusted in the garrisons. French officers were placed in all the chief commands. This created disunion, and there were daily quarrels between the French and Italian officers, and at length the Viceroy came to be considered no longer as their sovereign, but as a French general placed over them forcibly to preserve their connection with France.

The Italians speak universally against the Austrians, and complain of their rough manners; the hardships of a people who are polished and descendants of the ancient Romans being under Germans. The people of Tuscany and Lucca again declaim against the excessive contributions, and the unfairness of being obliged to support these Austrians, when they can take care of themselves. But I cannot hear, on *good* authority at least, of any malversation on the part of the latter. I know the Austrian military and interior arrangements to be very precise, and I observe the utmost regularity and quiet among both officers and men in the streets. The officers are certainly never admitted into society, and complain, I am told, of the incivility of the inhabitants. The fact is, such different materials as the Italians and the Austrians, with reciprocal prejudices, cannot easily associate; the one devoted wholly to pleasure, the other to military duties.

It is said that the secretary of General Count Stahremberg, M. Rosetti, a Piedmontese, is extremely venal; but if the case be so, I do not think it is known to the General. A proclamation appeared lately, ordering all plate belonging to palaces or public establishments, which had been carried away, to be restored. A few days before this —so the story runs—he came in a carriage by night from Lucca to Leghorn with a box, which was carried into his room. A Jew came to him for a private conference, and carried away the chest, but one of the waiters in the room had taken up a position which enabled him to spy the contents of the box and overhear the bargain!

August 12-18.—Upon the night of August 12, a Saturday, a company of Austrian infantry was under arms all night, and a few hussars patrolled about the streets. It seems that a captain of the Hungarian infantry heard a peasant in the streets talking of a revolt; and although the commanding officer, to whom he reported this with great earnestness and signs of fear, reprobated his conduct, as certainly arising from a misunderstanding and false impression on his part, and put him under arrest, yet it was thought prudent to keep a force under arms.

M. Marescalci, governor of Parma, has written to say that the Archduchess Marie-Louise will be there about the 1st of September. He with others is to resign his situation, on account of the number of persons whom she wishes to put into their places.

It is reported that Murat counts much upon the support of the Austrians through the interest which his Queen has with Metternich, whose *chère amie* she formerly was!

August 19.—A M. Colombini has arrived here from Florence. He is the person who assisted the French guard in scaling the window of the Pope. He comes of a good family and has property. On the Pope's return to Rome he was thrown into prison, but has now received permission to go where he pleases. He relates all sorts of stories as to the discontent existing against the Pope's government and his foolish proceedings. M. Alberti, formerly Consul of the kingdom of Italy, introduced him at the theatre the night before.

The Commandant has given me the names of the following persons as having gone over to the island of Elba, and being much suspected—Locatelli and Dr. Guidotti. The wife of the latter remains here, and is under surveillance.

A person came to me to be engaged as a servant, calling himself first a nephew, and afterwards only a relation of M. Ricci. He told me he was going to Pisa, in case I

did not hire him, on account of a wound in the head, received while serving in the French army. He said he had been a soldier for many years, and had a passport signed by the Mayor of Porto Ferrajo. I think he has been sent to me as a spy!

Prince Borghese has arrived at Florence. The King of Spain refuses to restore to him his house at Rome, and the Pope will not interfere.

A small vessel has arrived from Bastia in Corsica. I am informed that when she came away, there was a tumult between the citizens and the military, in consequence of the latter wishing to prevent a religious procession.

August 20.—Arrived Admiral Hallowell in the 'Malta,' from Genoa.

August 21.—The Admiral disapproves most strongly of several instances of voluntary court and unnecessary visits paid by naval officers at Porto Ferrajo, and I am persuaded nothing of the kind will recur in future. He continues the arrangements of Lord Exmouth in placing a man-of-war upon this station, in case of any extraordinary event to communicate.

August 22.—Admiral Hallowell sailed for Palermo.

August 23.—A few days ago Napoleon went on board his corvette, and remained for two hours. Fifty of his Guards were embarked at the same time. It is given out that they are sent to receive the Empress Marie-Louise; but it is more probable that this measure has arisen from fear of the Algerines, although Napoleon would hardly wish to raise an alarm among the inhabitants on account of so trifling a foe! Since then the corvette has been sent over to Genoa for fireworks, clothing, and household stores.

Porto Ferrajo continues to be the resort of a number of officers from Italy, who dislike the service both of the King of Sardinia and of the Emperor of Austria: in the former case, on account of the harsh expressions made

use of to those who had been wounded, or obtained distinction under the French; in the latter, on account of the system of corporal punishment and the difference of language. Their expectations of employment are kept up by constant reports propagated purposely to produce that effect. Still many have returned to their homes, sorely disappointed in their prospects, and displeased at the reception they met with from Napoleon, whose manner is very seldom conciliatory.

August 24.—A letter from General Drouot, governor of Elba, to General Spannochi, governor of Leghorn, requests of him to send under an escort to Piombino an officer who had been arrested, and assures him that if the man has committed any crime, he shall be tried by a military commission and punished. The reply from General Spannochi refers him to General Stahremberg, commanding in Tuscany.

August 25.—Arrived from Palermo the Prince of Villa Franca, lately Minister of Foreign Affairs while the island was under British dominion, with Lord William Bentinck as governor, the Duke of Ventimiglia, and two other Sicilian noblemen, who found it prudent to withdraw upon the assumption of the government by the King.

August 26,—Received a despatch from Count Stahremberg, with a packet of letters from the Princess Pauline and from various members of the Court of Naples to Napoleon, forwarded by Count Meyer, the Austrian Minister there. They had been left *open*, he states, and he had accordingly read them; but they contained nothing but felicitations on Napoleon's fête-day! 'Ce sont,' he adds, 'des finesses cousues de fil blanc. On nous envoie des lettres *ouvertes* pour les expédier à l'île, pendant que l'on a de fréquentes occasions d'en envoyer d'importance directement de Naples à l'île.'[3]

[3] 'These are artifices easily seen through. They send us letters *open* to be forwarded to the island, while they have frequent opportunities of sending others of importance direct from Naples to the island.'

He also tells me, that although General Drouot had written twice to General Spannochi on the subject of the persons arrested for recruiting at Leghorn, he had sent no reply; nor should he do so, until the procès was more advanced, and something more was known of their proceedings. They were being tried by a military commission, and the details would be forwarded to Vienna. At the same time he promises to inform me of the issue of this affair.

Prince Esterhazy has arrived at Florence, on his way to Rome, upon an extraordinary mission. The Pope has issued a bull, directing the re-establishment of the Jesuits throughout Europe.

Dr. Milner, a Roman Catholic bishop, and a deputation from England, were at Rome in the beginning of last month.

August 27.—Went towards Elba in H.M.S. 'Grasshopper,' but returned, as I did not wish to be present at the formal celebration of Napoleon's birthday. This was first ordered for the 15th, but was afterwards postponed to the 27th instant, which is the anniversary of the birthday of the Empress Marie-Louise.

It is stated that twenty of the Guards have deserted since the quarantine was taken off, and that all are tired of the place. Some sixty men of the Bataillon Étranger and thirty-five of the Line remained in the service of Napoleon. They have been augmented to 350, Italians and Corsicans, but principally the latter. Of these recruits, however, sixty have deserted at various times.

The last order for payment of the contributions fixes the 24th of this month, under pain of military execution.

August 28.—The Commandant showed me a despatch from General Stahremberg, stating that Jerome Bonaparte had left Gratz, and was at Padua on the 22nd. Search was being made, and there were orders to apprehend him.

August 29.—Received a despatch from Lord Castlereagh as follows:

'Foreign Office: August 6, 1814.

'Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you that I have received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to set out shortly for the Continent, to assist, as His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the approaching Congress of Vienna.

'It is His Royal Highness's pleasure that you still continue, as on the former occasion, to address your despatches to me at the Foreign Office, sending duplicates of such as you may be of opinion ought to be made known to me without delay at Vienna.

'You will transmit your correspondence to me at Vienna by the most favourable opportunities which may offer; but you will avoid any unnecessary expense by sending messengers on occasions which do not appear to you to require immediate despatch.

'I am, with great truth and regard, &c. &c.,

(Signed) 'CASTLEREAGH.

'To Colonel Campbell, &c. &c.'

August 30.—Went to-day from Leghorn to Florence, in expectation of the arrival there of the Grand Duke.

Informed that a courier had been arrested at Bologna, with despatches from Joseph Bonaparte to Napoleon. They were taken from him, being supposed to be of importance.

August 31.–*Sept.* 8.—Florence and baths of Lucca.

While at Florence, General Stahremberg showed me a letter from Prince Esterhazy, written from Rome, applying for escorts for Charles IV., late King of Spain, the Queen, the Prince of Peace, and their suites. They propose to come to Florence as private individuals, and they have named Schneider's Hotel for their residence.

Sept. 9.—Returned to Leghorn.

I am informed, that on the celebration of Murat's birthday, August 20, at Naples, the troops were reviewed by him. While a *feu de joie* was being fired, a musket-ball from one of the men's pieces hit an aide-de-camp, and wounded him mortally. Murat turned pale, but soon recovering himself said gaily, 'Ce n'était pas bien ajusté.' Examinations were made, and several soldiers arrested in consequence of balls being found in their pieces.

Sept. 10. — Received copy of a letter from Admiral Hallowell, stating that the Algerines have declared war against Naples, Genoa, and Elba.

It is addressed to Mr. Felton, the British Consul at Leghorn, and runs as follows:

'Palermo Bay: August 31, 1814.

'Sir,—I lose no time in acquainting you that I have received a letter from M. Oglander, the British Consul at Tunis, informing me of the Dey's determination not to respect either the British flag, or passports which may be granted to the subjects of Genoa and other Italian States, and that he was fitting out several corsairs for the express purpose of cruising against the vessels of these Powers.

'In the same letter he informs me that cruisers from Algiers and Tripoli are at sea with similar orders, and that he had been informed by the Bey of Tunis that some Genoese vessels, having Mr. Fitzgerald's pass, had been captured by the Algerine cruisers. I have therefore to request, that you will warn any vessel belonging to the subjects of Genoa and other States (lying at Leghorn), who may be furnished with such passports, of the danger to which they will be exposed, by navigating any longer under the faith of such protection.

'I have received a letter from Mr. MacDonnell, the British Consul at Algiers, wherein he informs me that the

Dey has instructed his cruisers to seize all Neapolitan vessels, and those sailing under the flag of Elba, wherever they may be met with, *and the person of the Sovereign of that island also, should any opportunity happily offer of getting hold of him.*

'I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

(Signed) 'BEN. HALLOWELL.'

N.B.—The last part, marked in italics, was not sent by me to General Bertrand, as being personally offensive against Napoleon.

Sept. 11, 12.—One of the persons arrested for enrolling recruits in Tuscany for Napoleon has made an acknowledgment of the circumstances. His name is Quedlicci. He deposes that he was originally commissioned to purchase clothing for the troops; and that when attending at the Governor's residence, for the purpose of receiving his final instructions—at the very moment when the necessary papers were being signed—some one opened the door of the room in which he was, and Napoleon himself appeared; that after looking at him attentively, he inquired whether he was one of the officers charged to enrol recruits; that on his replying that such was not his immediate commission, but that, nevertheless, he had instructions to that effect, Napoleon bid him apprise his comrades that he wished for men, healthy, robust, and capable of executing a *coup de main* of some sort. He also gave him a commission to procure fifteen or sixteen men as musicians to make up a band.

Quedlicci has further given up the names of eight other officers, destined for recruiting in these various localities: Rome, Naples, Bastia and Ajaccio in Corsica, Piedmont, Massa, Carrara, Genoa.

I shall acquaint Colonel Sir John Dalrymple, who commands at Genoa, for the information of the Government

of that State, with the name of the officer employed there by Napoleon.

A decree has been issued at Naples, signed by the Duke of Laurenzana, Minister of Police. It states that the Government there have heard with surprise, by means of letters from Civita Vecchia and Leghorn, that several persons, calling themselves officers in the service of the King of Naples, and decorated with his Royal Order, have presented themselves at those ports, professing to be sent from the Court of Naples to the island of Elba. And although no one could be deceived by so miserable a stratagem, yet the said Minister of Police thinks it necessary to declare that such intriguers do not belong to the kingdom of Naples, that they are not even known, and that they are still less charged with any mission to the island of Elba. All local authorities are invited to cause the arrest of any such individual.

Sept. 13.—Sailed from Leghorn.

Sept. 14.—Landed at Porto Ferrajo, and had an interview with General Bertrand, to whom I presented a letter notifying the declaration of war by the Algerines. Some persons were present in the room. General Bertrand went out for some time, and on his return seemed much agitated. When we found ourselves alone, he told me he would send the letter to the Emperor at Longono. I asked whether Napoleon had no communication with the Government of France respecting the treaty with the Algerines. He laughed ironically, and said, 'No. The matter rests with the Allied Powers, if they mean to act in good faith.' I reminded him of the reply of Admiral Sir Edward Pellew some time before, to the effect that he could not interfere, and that the question did not rest with H. B. Majesty's Government. At the same time, if Napoleon wished to make any representation, I would forward it to Lord Castlereagh. To this General Bertrand made no particular answer.

Madame Bertrand, whom I saw on this occasion, told me in the course of conversation, that Napoleon asked Caulaincourt to accompany him to Elba, but he declined. She is persuaded that he had no connection whatever with the apprehension or death of the Duke d'Enghien. The Emperor Alexander was so certain of this, that he asked Louis XVIII. to send him as ambassador to St. Petersburg; and, when that was refused, he offered him the place of Grand Ecuyer with himself. Savary ordered a lantern to be tied to the Duke d'Enghien's breast, in consequence of his requesting that the soldiers would not fail in their shots. Napoleon had been very unwell for some days before, and advantage was taken of it by Murat and others about him to hasten on the death of the Duke. In another hour it would have been countermanded. This is probably said in reliance upon the success of Josephine's application; but I was told at Fontainebleau that Napoleon kicked her from his knees.

Before Madame Bertrand left Paris she asked Berthier if he would not come to Elba. He told her, 'Yes, he would come to see the Emperor very soon, and that he would pass three months with him every year; that he would have gone with him in the first instance but for his wife and children.'

Sept. 15.—Napoleon came over for a few hours from Longono, in order to press on the repairs of his house, but returned in the afternoon. I did not see him.

Sept. 16.—Had an audience of Napoleon for the first time since my last visit to Leghorn and the baths of Lucca, which are prescribed for my wounds. It was courted by himself, in sending to inform me that one of his carriages was at my disposal to convey me from Porto Ferrajo to Longono, where he has been for the last two weeks. This audience lasted for three hours by the watch, during which time there was no interruption. He constantly walked from one extremity of the room to the

other, asked questions without number, and descanted upon a great variety of subjects, generally with temper and goodnature, except when the matter bore upon the absence of his wife and child, or the defection of Marshal Marmont.

He began by questions as to Genoa. Understood Lord William Bentinck was to return there very soon. Was there not a British regiment at Nice? Spoke of the state of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and Tuscany; said that the rude manners and different language of the Austrians rendered it impossible for them to become popular with the Italians, who had previously been flattered by the formation of the kingdom of Italy; that it should be the policy of Great Britain to retain this kingdom, as an ally against France and Austria; that it should be equally her object to keep Naples separate from Sicily. The latter, as an island, would be entirely under the influence of England. He inquired where the Queen of Sicily was? Whether I knew the intentions of the Allies towards Murat? Whether the late King of Spain was to remain at Rome? When I told him it was reported that Ferdinand VII. had invited his father and mother to return to Spain, provided the Prince of Peace did not accompany them, he inveighed against the latter, and said that his own countenance and support given to him had been very prejudicial to his cause in Spain.

He presumed that England would keep Corfu, and said he had done a great deal there for us. I observed that the proclamation of the British General, on taking possession of the island as commissioner, stated it was 'on behalf of His Britannic Majesty and his Allies,' and that it was generally supposed Austria and Russia would also have claims. He derided this idea, and said that Russia particularly could have no just pretensions.

He then asked whether I had lately received any communication from Lord Castlereagh. I told him not since

that which conveyed the Prince Regent's approbation to my prolonging my residence.

He next adverted to the threats of the Algerines, but cursorily, and did not seem apprehensive; said that if it was intended to adhere to the treaty entered into with him at Fontainebleau, he would not be molested by them. I reminded him of the application upon this subject some time before, which I had transmitted to Lord Exmouth, who replied that he could not interfere, and that even according to the treaty quoted by himself, it rested with the Court of France. I also pointed out to him, that while the British troops occupied Sicily and Portugal, and were in the most intimate relations with their Governments, the latter made their own treaties and arrangements with the Barbary Powers without any interference. Besides, I referred to the fate of the Genoese vessels, which had hoisted the British flag, and received licences from the English Consul at Genoa. He expressed his belief that the Algerines were well inclined towards him, and related with good humour that they had ridiculed the crews of two vessels belonging to Louis XVIII. near Elba, calling to them with reproaches, 'Vous avez déserté votre Empereur!' He added that all the subjects of the Grand Seignior were well inclined towards him as the enemy of Russia, and considered him the destroyer of Moscow.

He asked me if I knew what was intended by the Austrians respecting his wife and son, animadverting with warmth, and in strong language, upon the interdiction to their joining him, which he stated to exist, and said that it excited universal indignation even at Vienna; that no such instance of barbarity and injustice, unconnected with any state policy, could be pointed out in modern times; that he was persuaded England was too just and liberal to approve of it. The Empress had written to him, and he knew her wishes. She was now absolutely a prisoner, for there was an Austrian officer (whom he named and

described) who accompanied her, in order to prevent her from escaping to Elba. Before she left Orleans it was promised to her that she should receive passports to enable her to follow him: 'L'Empereur d'Autriche est mené par Metternich, mais il est mené lui-même; car quoiqu'il ait des talents, il est d'un esprit léger.'[4]

He then asked me to write to Lord Castlereagh, to inquire whether it was intended to prevent his wife and child, or either of them, from joining him. I told him I had no correspondence with his lordship but what was official. He replied, 'Mais vous pouvez toucher sur cela légèrement, ou écrire à quelqu'un près de lui.'[5] I bowed, and told him that I should be happy to do anything that was agreeable to him, and at the same time consistent with my duty. He seemed to receive this as an assent to his wishes. 'Oui, vous le ferez; vous pouvez faire cela très-bien.'[6]

After giving vent to his feelings upon this subject, he next mentioned how very inimical and personal the conduct of General Stahremberg, who commanded in Tuscany, had been towards him. These observations afforded me an opportunity of noticing the apprehensions which were entertained by the General in consequence of persons enrolling and entering in his name some subjects of Tuscany. He admitted the fact, but treated it with ridicule; said he had only 500 or 600 of his Old Guard, who were not sufficiently numerous to guard all the villages and fortifications; that the situation of the island did not admit of his recruiting upon it his battalion of Chasseurs, and therefore the Corsican officers, who remained at Elba, instead of going to France with the rest of the garrison, endeavoured to obtain recruits in Italy and Corsica. Could General Stahremberg

[4] 'The Emperor of Austria is led by Metternich, but he is led himself; for although he has some talent, he is of a frivolous disposition.'

[5] 'But you can touch upon that matter lightly, or write to some one about him.'

[6] 'Yes, you will do it; you can do that quite well.'

be so weak as to be alarmed at this? He was very happy that I remained on, 'pour rompre la chimère. Je ne pense à rien dehors de ma petite île. Je pouvais avoir soutenu la guerre pendant vingt années si j'avais voulu cela. Je n'existe plus pour le monde. Je suis un homme mort. Je ne m'occupe que de ma famille et de ma retraite, ma maison, mes vaches et mes mulets.'[7]

He expressed regret at some difficulties which a few English travellers had experienced some days before from the Commandant and the police at Porto Ferrajo. He reprobated the conduct of the latter, and paid many compliments to the British nation. It was his wish, he said, that every traveller should meet with attention and facility. The mistake arose from advices being received that a person of another nation had come to Elba as an assassin.

[It is probably on account of this information that Napoleon has resided for the last two weeks at Longono within the fortress, and orders are given there that no stranger may be admitted without a written permission from the Commandant. However, he makes frequent excursions in his carriage.]

After continuing to expatiate on the British character, and remarking that, notwithstanding all the abuse directed against it in his name, his sentiments were well known by those near his person, he requested me to obtain for him an English Grammar the first time I went to the Continent.

Conversing with respect to the affairs of America, he repeated his conjectures made some time ago, that the expedition from England was destined for Louisiana, in order to limit definitively the United States to the southward.

[7] 'To dispel the illusion. I think of nothing outside my little island. I could have kept up the war during twenty years if I had wanted that. I exist no longer for the world. I am a dead man. I only occupy myself with my family and my retreat, my cows and my mules.'

He inquired with great eagerness as to the real state of France. I told him that private letters, English travellers, and every source of information, concurred in ascribing great wisdom and moderation to the Sovereign and Government, but that there were many, such as those who had lost good appointments, the prisoners who had returned from abroad, and a portion of the army, who were attached to him. He appeared to admit the stability of the Sovereign, supported as his Government is by all the Marshals, Berthier being captain of the Guards; but said that the attempt to copy Great Britain with respect to the Constitution was absurd—a mere caricature! It was impossible to imitate the Houses of Parliament, for ancient and respectable families, like those composing the aristocracy in England, did not now exist in France.

After continuing in this strain for a long time, with comparisons highly complimentary to England, he spoke with some warmth of the cessions made by France since his abdication; said it was not wise, on the part of the Allies, to require so much, particularly as regarded Luxemburg and the Netherlands; that she had no defence whatever on that frontier. While Prussia, Holland, Austria, and Russia were aggrandised beyond all proportion on the Continent, and England in the East and West Indies, France had lost all, even to the pitiful island of St. Lucia. He spoke as a spectator, without any future hopes or present interest, for he had neither, again insisting on his own nonentity; but it showed utter ignorance of the French character and temper of the present time. Their chief failings were pride and the love of glory, and it was impossible for them to look forward with satisfaction and feelings of tranquillity, as was stated to be the sincere wish of all the Allies, under such sacrifices. They were conquered only by a great superiority of numbers but not humiliated. The population of France had not suffered to the extent that might be supposed, for he

always spared their lives, and exposed the Italians and other foreigners.[8]

These observations gradually led him to speak of his own feats in war and the last campaign. He entered into the details of many operations, in which he had repulsed the enemy and gained advantages with numbers inferior beyond comparison, and then went on to abuse Marshal Marmont, to whose defection alone he ascribed his being obliged to give up the contest.

He alleges that the gratitude which the Royal Family of France feel towards England is viewed with jealousy and contempt by the people of France, as producing a sacrifice of their interests. The King is called 'le Vice-roi d'Angleterre!'

In talking of St. Domingo, I remarked that the superfluous portion of discontented military could be employed there. He said it would be bad policy to attempt to re-establish that colony. Better to blockade it, and force the negroes to transport the whole of their produce to France only. This would have been his own plan in case of a peace.

He asked whether I had heard that Parma, &c., were not to be given up to Marie-Louise, but to the Queen of Etruria, and that an indemnity in Germany was to be offered to the former. I admitted that this was one among other reports prevalent in Italy.

He expressed his own desire and expectation of being on a good footing with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; presumed that if I returned to the baths of Lucca, I should pay my respects to His Imperial Highness; in which case I should be able to ascertain his sentiments towards himself, and if they were favourable, as he expected (in consequence of favours received from him formerly, when the Grand Duke was on bad terms with his brother the

[8] The advice of the old Greek proverb was to confront any extraordinary danger with the *Carian*, and not the native-born.—ED.

Emperor of Austria), he would send over an officer to compliment him upon his arrival in Tuscany.

He inquired about the Countess of Albany, and asked whether she still received a pension from England. He abused M. Mariotti, the French Consul at Leghorn.

[This man was chief of Bacchiochi's staff, and got his place through the interest of Madame Brignolli, who is now with Marie-Louise. Napoleon called him a Corsican adventurer. I suspect, however, that he is useful in forwarding communications, and that this abuse was purposely to deceive me!]

In the course of conversation Napoleon told me that the Archbishop of Malines,[9] who had been his own chaplain, was extremely addicted to descanting on military subjects, which is very disgusting to military men. He was the person whom he sent for at Warsaw, on his retreat from Russia. Lately, at the table of Talleyrand, this man cast many reflections upon him; said he was no general; was a fool, &c. At length a Frenchman present remarked in a very moderate tone: 'Mais l'Empereur Napoléon a eu quelque succès dans ses campagnes d'Italie!'[1] Lord Wellington had remained silent during the whole of this conversation, but when the same gentleman referred to him for his opinion, he replied that the success which the Emperor had obtained in the last campaign, between the Seine and the Marne, was equally great.

Napoleon appeared to be highly flattered by the praise thus accorded to him by the Duke of Wellington, and asked me whether he was not generally reserved in conversation. I replied that he certainly was not talkative!

Enlarging for some time upon the influence which he possessed over the minds of French soldiers in the field, he said that under him they performed what no other

[9] Better known as the Abbé de Pradt.—ED.

[1] 'But the Emperor Napoleon has had some success in his campaigns in Italy.'

chief could obtain from them. This he ascribed to his manner of talking to them on particular occasions. With soldiers it is not so much the speech itself as the mode of delivering it. Here he raised himself on his toes, looked up to the ceiling, and, lifting one of his hands to its utmost extent, called out, 'Déployez les aigles! Déployez les aigles!'[2] He then related to me, that when the battle of Marengo was almost lost, he redeemed it by calling out to the men, who were then in perfect rout. He had then with himself only about forty horsemen; but by putting himself at the head of the retiring troops, and speaking to them in a certain tone and manner, they rallied immediately, crying out, 'Allons donc, en avant!' It is like music, which either speaks to the soul, or, on the contrary. gives out sounds without harmony.

It strikes me there was something *wild* in his air throughout this last visit, and in many of his observations, the above among others.

Sept. 17.—Madame Letitia, upon her first arrival, proposed to remain only one month, but she has now taken up her permanent residence in the island, and has sent for the rest of her baggage.

Part of the effects belonging to the Princess Pauline have arrived, and vessels have been sent to Naples for the remainder. This looks as if Murat was averse to any public communication with Elba. The Princess herself is expected to arrive from Naples in two or three weeks.

Sept. 18.—About three weeks ago, a lady with a child, apparently five or six years of age, arrived here from Leghorn. She was received by Napoleon with great attention, but a certain degree of concealment, and accompanied him immediately to a very retired small house in the most remote part of the island. After remaining two days she re-embarked, and is said to have gone to

[2] 'Unfurl the eagles!'

Naples. Everyone in Elba believes that this individual is Marie-Louise with her son. It is even said that a servant of Napoleon's was put in confinement for propagating the report, as if it was a circumstance intended to be concealed. The Mayor of Marchiana, on her passing through that village on her way to the mountain retreat, ordered preparations for illuminating to be made. For this he was rebuked by Napoleon, and the order was countermanded. The same idea is very generally credited on the opposite coast, but my information leads me to believe that it is a Polish lady from Warsaw, who bore a child to Napoleon a few years ago. It is probable that the concealment used, and her speedy departure to the Continent, proceed from delicacy towards Marie-Louise, and the fear of this connection becoming known to her.

Sept. 19.—The Intendant tells me that Napoleon's revenue, even with the impositions, does not exceed 300,000 francs; whereas his expenses, including troops, marine, and household, have been at the rate of 1,000,000. A great part of the ten months' provisions, which were left in store here by the French troops, have been nearly all sold by Napoleon, and are supposed to have produced about 500,000 francs. This sum, with the specie brought with him from France (the amount of which, however, is unknown) enables him to continue his extraordinary expenses. The salt has failed this season, and the iron ore does not meet with sale, in consequence of the quantity of guns and old iron sold at Genoa by the British, and at Leghorn by the Neapolitans.

The inhabitants of Capolini have not paid any contributions, nor any of the poorest of the population generally; but the threats of military execution have not been carried out, and the tax will not be levied from them at present. The Mayor of Marchiana is released.

Napoleon is never now saluted with cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!'

There are still many discontented officers from the army of Italy here, and it is said that they are to form a Garde de Corps. Four officers from France have entered the Imperial Guard as private soldiers. A General Lebelle and his family have lately arrived here from France, but he is not employed.

Sept. 20.—Napoleon seems to have lost all habits of study and sedentary application. He has four places of residence in different parts of the island, and the improvements and changes of these form his sole occupation. But as they lose their interest to his unsettled mind, and the novelty wears off, he occasionally falls into a state of inactivity never known before, and has of late retired to his bedroom for repose during several hours of the day. If he takes exercise, it is in a carriage, and not on horseback as before. His health, however, is excellent, and his spirits appear not at all depressed. I begin to think he is quite resigned to his retreat, and that he is tolerably happy, excepting when the recollections of his former power are freshened by sentiments of vanity or revenge, or his passions become influenced by want of money, and his wife and child being kept from him.

To-day he went to Pia Nosa, accompanied by several ladies and others belonging to his household. He was to have proceeded there some days ago, but on receiving my information, with respect to the Algerines having declared war against Elba, he sent his corvette there to reconnoitre. She returned yesterday.

This island, as I have before said, is situated a few miles south of Elba, and is about three miles long and one broad.

Being very capable of yielding grain, the acquisition of it is desirable to Napoleon; and it is probable that he has no other view in sending there a detachment of soldiers and some inhabitants. But at the same time it affords him opportunities of receiving persons from the Continent,

and particularly Naples and Corsica, without any possible means of detecting it. I have therefore thought it my duty to draw Lord Castlereagh's attention to the circumstance.

Sept. 21.—Embarked for Leghorn.

Sept. 22.—Landed from the 'Grasshopper' this morning, and arrived at Florence the same evening.

Sept. 23.—Had an interview with M. Fossombroni, the Prime Minister of Tuscany, and was informed by him that fifty-five Polish Lancers of Napoleon's Guard, who had been at Parma, will arrive at Leghorn by a march-route on October 2, to embark for the island of Elba. There were no explanations about the transports to convey them. General Stahremberg had received this communication from Marshal Bellegarde, and General Stafinini, commanding at Parma, was ordered to communicate with General Bertrand.

Sept. 24.—Florence.

Sept. 25.—Presented to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the forenoon, and afterwards went by invitation to his box, to see the horse-racing. In the evening attended the drawing-room, and played cards with the two Grand Duchesses.

In the course of my audience, the Grand Duke asked some questions of curiosity about Napoleon; and when I took occasion to speak of the favourable sentiments he had expressed towards His Imperial Highness, he said he had never done him any pointed violence; adding, however, his want of confidence in him, and taking no more direct notice of Napoleon's proposal to send an officer to compliment him.

I made the Grand Duke, as well as his Minister, perfectly aware that I did not charge myself with any mission from Napoleon; but, as circumstances had led me there, and there was no British Minister at that Court, I thought

it right to mention the proposal, as I should, in like manner, to Napoleon the substance of his reply.

Sept. 26–28.—I have written to General Bertrand in such terms as may induce both him and Napoleon to believe that there was no encouragement on the part of the Grand Duke to any person being sent to compliment him.

CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVAL OF POLISH LANCERS—TUNISIAN CORSAIR—EDICT OF NAPOLEON—HINTS THROWN OUT BY GENERAL BERTRAND—CONVERSATION WITH NAPOLEON, OCTOBER 31—ARRIVAL OF PAULINE—PECUNIARY EMBARRASSMENTS OF NAPOLEON—WRITES TO LORD CASTLEREAGH ON SUBJECT—RESISTANCE TO CONTRIBUTIONS—VISIT TO FLORENCE—INTERVIEW WITH M. HYDE DE NEUVILLE—OLD GUNS SENT FROM PORTO FERRAJO—CONVERSATION WITH NAPOLEON, DECEMBER 4, OF THREE HOURS AND A HALF—PRESENTS CAPTAIN ADYE—LIST OF NAPOLEON'S VESSELS—REPORT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND M. LITTA—INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON, DECEMBER 21—DISCHARGE OF SOLDIERS—GRADUAL ESTRANGEMENT OF NAPOLEON.

OCTOBER.—Upon the 2nd ult., a detachment of fifty or sixty Polish Lancers, mounted, arrived at Leghorn from Parma with their horses, and were sent over here on the 5th, at the expense of the Commandant of Leghorn. A person came with them, who presented an account of the sum paid for hire of transports. This it was promised to repay; but on settling the account with Napoleon's treasurer, he only paid one-half, without assigning any reason for withholding the rest.

I have been assured, from good authority, that his present funds are nearly exhausted; in consequence of which there is a great diminution in the expenses, but not in the extent, of his household and establishment.

It may be necessary to explain, that the Polish Lancers just mentioned formed part of the volunteers from France; but when the others were embarked for Elba at Savona, in the month of May last, they were sent to Parma by order of Napoleon, to act as a cavalry-guard to Marie-Louise.

It is reported that upon the 29th ult., a boat coming to this island from Corsica, with two officers and fourteen soldiers for Napoleon's levy, was overtaken by another

despatch from the governor and carried back. Those who have already arrived here are extremely dissatisfied, and would all return to Corsica if they could escape.

The checks placed upon his recruiting men from Corsica, by the activity of the new governor, Brulart, have annoyed him extremely.

The troops here are constantly exercised with mortars and guns, throwing shells and firing red-hot shot. This practice increases the surprise of the inhabitants on the opposite coast, and augments the many reports which are in circulation.

Colonel Lebelle (whom I before described as General) is now employed by Napoleon. There is no other Frenchman above the rank of captain who has joined Napoleon since his first arrival.

Sir John Dalrymple writes me from Genoa, that, upon the 4th inst., a French general of the name of Bourigny, or Persigny, arrived there, stating that he had left Paris ten days before, and intended to travel in Italy. It was discovered that he had hired a vessel to convey him to Elba. Upon being prevented in that design, he went to Milan. He had no passport excepting one from Lord Castlereagh, by means of which he had formerly gone to Corfu as commissioner, to surrender that island to the Allies. I cannot learn that he has yet arrived here. I have written to General Campbell at Corfu, to inform him of the circumstance.

It is stated that a detachment of French troops, from Corsica, lately disembarked at the island of Capraja (which lies to the northward of Corsica, and north-west of Elba), took on board all the military stores, and then returned. It is conjectured that this measure arises from the intention of restoring it to Genoa, to which republic it belonged previously to the year 1792.

Oct. 22.—Napoleon's corvette is still absent at Civita Vecchia, or at Naples, either to receive on board the Princess Pauline, or to accompany the ship which will convey

her. Many of her effects have arrived here lately. It has been supposed in Naples and Sicily that they belonged to Murat, and that they were embarked clandestinely in case of his losing his present crown.

Murat's squadron is frequently to the southward of this island, cruising between it and the Bay of Naples, in order to protect their trade against the Barbary Powers, but I do not learn that they hold any communication with this place. The fleet consists in all of two sail of the line, three frigates, and some small vessels.

Oct. 23.—I have heard nothing more on the subject of an officer being sent by Napoleon to compliment the Grand Duke of Tuscany, excepting that M. Colonna went from this to Leghorn and Florence a few days ago, and it is surmised that such is the object of his journey. He accompanied Napoleon's mother from Rome to Elba, and has remained with her ever since.

It has been reported in Tuscany for some time past, and generally believed, that medals and coins have been struck off here by Napoleon's order. Persons lately arrived from Paris have asserted that they have seen them there, describing them to bear the same motto as was reported in Italy—viz., *Ubicunque felix.* I do not believe that any were ever made in this island, and I presume that these must have had their origin in Paris.

Oct. 24–28.—A small ship, a corsair belonging to Tunis, anchored here on the 24th, and saluted with five guns, which were returned. This State has not declared war against the flag of Napoleon. It is only the Algerines who have done so.

Two Genoese vessels carrying English colours anchored here subsequently, in consequence of contrary winds, and put to sea on the morning of the 27th. The corsair wished to pursue them, but was prevented by order from Napoleon, who directed her to be kept at anchor until the others were out of reach.

Napoleon's corvette is stated to be at Baiæ, near Naples, anchored at some distance from the shore, and prevented from landing any of her crew.

Oct. 29.—A few days ago some fifty of the Guards sent separate petitions to Napoleon to quit his service. No answer has been yet given, but the inhabitant who was employed by them to write them out has been sent away from the island.

From the following decree, affixed in various parts of the island, it may be inferred that Napoleon foresees the probability of the officers of the Guard likewise leaving him, and therefore wishes to prepare some of the young men of the island for filling their situations.

[Traduction de l'Italien.]

'S. M. l'Empereur, par sa décision de ce jour, a décrété les dispositions suivantes :—

'Porto-Ferrajo, le 13e oct. 1818.

'ART. 1. Dix élèves militaires seront admis à la compagnie d'Artillerie de la Garde. Ils seront instruits dans les manœuvres d'artillerie et d'infanterie. Un officier des Grenadiers de la Garde est chargé de les instruire en tout ce qui concerne les manœuvres d'infanterie, la discipline et les règlements militaires.

'ART. 2. Les élèves d'artillerie seront instruits dans les éléments de mathématique, de fortification et de dessin par un officier qui sera digne de cette charge.

'ART. 3. Les élèves d'artillerie porteront le chapeau noir avec bordure rouge, pantalons bleus, bottes à l'écuyère, épée, et ceinturon blanc, les épaulettes de sous-lieutenant. Ils seront logés à l'étoile et feront ordinaire entr' eux.

'ART. 4. Les élèves d'artillerie seront choisis parmi les jeunes gens qui auront reçu la meilleure éducation, et ils devront recevoir de leurs familles une solde de 360 francs par an. Ils recevront en outre par le gouvernement une solde de 180 francs par an et les rations accordées au soldat.

'ART. 5. Les dépenses d'établissement seront faites par la famille des élèves d'artillerie.

'Le Gouverneur de l'île d'Elbe,
(Signé) 'LE COMTE DROUOT.'

Oct. 30.—For the last two months I have perceived that, upon my return from the Continent to Elba, hints were thrown out by General Bertrand as if my visits to the island were expected to be only of short duration. But I cannot say whether this was in order to ascertain the footing upon which my stay was prolonged, or merely in the way of accidental observation from my making frequent excursions to the mainland, without any other meaning. As my reception was always marked with attention and kindness, although I saw less of Napoleon, and as in my interview at Longono he expressed his satisfaction at my being there, as he said, 'pour rompre la chimère,' I did not feel myself called upon to enter into explanations further than to state (in accordance with Lord Castlereagh's directions) that my residence would continue until after the affairs of Europe were settled by the Congress. After that, I presumed that His Majesty's Government would enable me to exhibit the powers of a permanent and ostensible appointment.

To-day General Drouot told me that Napoleon asked why I did not go to visit him, as he had not seen me since my return; and he requested me to come to him for an interview the following day, at an hour which he appointed.

Oct. 31.—His reception was as kind as usual, and after polite questions as to my health, he continued for an hour to make his remarks upon the politics of Europe, occasionally questioning me as to what I had observed in Italy, or heard from other quarters.

In the course of his remarks as to the discontent of the Italians, I observed to him that the situation of Italy would be greatly tranquillised if Murat's position was assured,

and adverted to a report of the question being decided favourably for him. He did not seem to derive any satisfaction from this report, and by no means coincided in the idea of its having that effect throughout Italy. He traced the evils which existed in Italy to the influence of the clergy, and attributed the discontent which was increasing daily, among other causes, more particularly to the national pride in losing the name of a kingdom. These evils were too extensive and radical to be influenced by Naples alone, or by Murat. He praised the Italians, and ridiculed the Germans. He would engage always to beat 30,000 Germans with 20,000 Italians. The former were stupid, slow, and without pride, contented with their pipes, cows, and farms, whereas the latter were quick and proud, and had now become military. He had quite changed their habits, and abolished much of their degeneracy. All the young men were attached to the French, from having served with them in the army, and their minds were bent upon the formation of Italy into a kingdom. The Government of France had only been nominal. That part of Italy which had been incorporated with French departments was only to have remained so until certain of his projects were fully realised, and the people knew this. They held their places, and felt themselves as one people and one kingdom, from Piedmont to Naples. After this it was impossible for them to be reconciled to the changes which were now being made, through the Austrians, with different language and names, the disgusting measures of the King of Sardinia, and those of the Pope and his priestcraft.

He inquired whether Lord William Bentinck had yet returned to Genoa, if our troops were still there, and whether the Republic was to be reinstated?

He asked as to the probable duration of the Congress of Vienna, adverted to the reports which are in circulation in Tuscany, of its lasting a considerable time, and that the

sovereigns would separate before it was closed. He had thought that all arrangements had been made and thoroughly understood before their arrival at Vienna, and that their confirmation only was wanting, which would have been affixed immediately. How could so many sovereigns remain together for any length of time? Their separation without a final settlement of Europe, and a publication of the terms, would have a dreadful effect, particularly in Poland, Italy, and France. He enlarged upon this at different times, as if he dreaded the consequences, and pretended even to express his wish that the Congress should conclude speedily and amicably.

With regard to Poland, he said that if Russia could attach the minds of the Poles to her as one people, she would be the first Power in Europe. But this was the difficulty. It was a problem yet to solve, and one which he thought not at all likely to be solved. If the Emperor Alexander sent a viceroy, with all the appointments and the government in the hands of Russians, the Poles would never become attached to them, nor contribute to the strength of Russia. The nobles were numerous, high-spirited, well-educated, and not to be deceived, and therefore would not be satisfied by a mere show of independence and with the name of a kingdom without the reality. The rest of the nation were in a manner slaves without instruction, but they would follow their own nobles with confidence and with perseverance in any cause they espoused. But, on the other hand, if the Russians succeeded in uniting the Poles heartily in a common interest, the whole of Europe ought to dread them. It would be impossible to foresee or to limit the consequences. Hordes of Cossacks and barbarians, who had once seen the riches of more civilised countries, would be eager to return. They would overrun Europe, and some great change would probably result from it, as had been the case in former times from the incursions of barbarians. His own opinion, however,

was, that the Poles and Russians would never be united in one cause; there were so many difficulties in the way.

He afterwards changed the subject to the state of France, principally in respect of Belgium, and his favourite topic, Antwerp. He gradually became warmed, and was frequently much agitated. The state of humiliation to which France is now reduced by her cessions and the aggrandisement, so unequal, of the other leading Powers!

'L'Angleterre avec toutes ses richesses, ses possessions étrangères et sa puissance maritime! L'Autriche avec toute l'Italie. La Prusse avec Mayence, et jusqu'à Luxembourg! Les Français à Dantzick n'étaient pas si extraordinaires que les Prusses à Luxembourg. Quelle humiliation pour la France après tant d'années de prépondérance gagnée par sa gloire! La Hollande avec la Belgique!'[1] It was a great object for England to have Antwerp in possession of her former ally Holland, and taken from France. But if this was to be effected, what prospect was there of a lengthened state of tranquillity in France? He certainly thought none. He might be wrong, but time would show. There could not be quiet in Europe, if the French were humiliated, and reduced out of proportion with the other leading Powers. He was of opinion that the Ministers of England were as much persuaded of this as himself, and considered the present frontiers of France were quite unreasonable; but it would be impossible for them to convince the people of England of that, and therefore he presumed they acted contrary to their own opinions. He was perfectly ready to have made peace at Chatillon, if Antwerp had been left to France. It was England, therefore, that prevented the peace. The whole of France knew that, and

[1] 'England with all her riches, her foreign possessions, and her maritime strength! Austria with the whole of Italy. Prussia with Mayence, and as far as Luxemburg! 'The French at Dantzic were not so extraordinary as the Prussians at Luxemburg. What a humiliation for France after so many years of superiority acquired by her glory! Holland with Belgium!'

approved of his determination never to cede it, but to stake everything upon it as he did. Metternich was bribed by England at that time. He knew the particulars of every sum that he received, and even the debts which he owed in Paris, and which were all paid for him. At present Holland and Prussia, and probably Russia also, would be the constant allies of England, and this would throw France and Austria together.

He again descanted upon the feelings and qualities of the French people, pointing out that there would be a violent reaction of the whole nation before five years were over, similar to what took place at the Revolution, in consequence of their humiliation and so great a diminution of frontier. The Rhine was the natural boundary. Every man in France considered it so, and this opinion would never alter. There was no want of male population in France, and all martial beyond any other nation, by nature as well as in consequence of the Revolution and their ideas of glory. Louis XIV.'s memory, notwithstanding their sufferings under him, was still beloved by the French, because he had flattered these feelings. It was the battle of Rosbach [2] which produced the Revolution in France, more than any other of the causes to which it was ascribed. In many instances Louis XVIII. and his supporters showed good sense, in others a total ignorance of the French character. It was Peltier who wrote the newspapers in France; and nothing could be more calculated to disgust the mass of the population. Their spirit, if once roused, cannot be opposed; it is like a torrent. Neither ministers nor marshals, nor anyone else, can either direct it differently or stem it. It is otherwise in England. The nation is directed by parties and by reasoning. Perhaps the King of France might send a part of

[2] In 1757, between 22,000 Prussians under Frederick the Great, and 55,000 French and Imperialists under the Prince de Soubise, a favourite of Madame de Pompadour. The former had 500 killed and wounded; the latter, 2,800.—Hozier's *Seven Weeks' War*, vol. i. p. 342.—ED.

his army to St. Domingo, but that would be seen through. He himself had made a melancholy attempt to conquer that island with 30,000 men, which had proved the inutility of such an expedition.

The appointment of the Duke of Wellington as ambassador at Paris was an open insult and injury to the feelings of the French people. He, who had been one of the most successful instruments against them, could not be considered in any other light. He knew, by persons from France, that there was a universal disgust there at their present humiliation, and that the Bourbons had very few partisans in the army, and among the bulk of the population.

He was then at pains to show that he had no personal motives or expectations. "Jam a born Soldier

'Je suis un homme mort. Je suis né soldat. J'ai monté le trône et j'ai descendu. Je suis prêt à tout. On peut me déporter. On peut m'assassiner. J'étendrai ma poitrine pour recevoir le poignard. Comme Général Bonaparte, j'avais des biens que j'avais gagnés, mais on a pris tout.'[3]

He asked me whether I had lately received any letters from Lord Castlereagh, and whether I had written to his lordship, to report the sentiments he had expressed respecting the detention of the Empress and his son? I said I had, but as yet had received no answer.

Napoleon's sister Pauline arrived here to-day on board of his corvette, escorted as far as the channel of Piombino by a Neapolitan frigate, which then returned to Naples without any communication with Elba.

Nov. 1–12.—I have ascertained from undoubted authority, that M. Colonna has gone to Florence, charged with a letter from Napoleon to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

After the Tunisian corsair left this harbour, she gave chase to some coasting vessels near Piombino, and block-

[3] 'I am a dead man. I was born a soldier. I have mounted the throne, and I have descended. I am ready for everything. They can transport me. They can assassinate me. I would stretch out my breast to receive the poignard. As General Bonaparte, I had possessions that I had gained, but they have taken all.'

aded them there. It appears certain that Napoleon has established himself on an amicable footing with this Power, or that he has bribed the captain of the ship with the advantage of taking shelter in his ports, so as to be able perhaps to communicate with France. For it is said that she came direct from Toulon in four days. I shall pursue this investigation, as the circumstance appears remarkable.

Memorandum of information which it is desirable to obtain as soon as possible, or any other circumstances connected therewith.

1. 'Whether the amicable understanding between Elba and the Tunisian corsair is with herself only, or whether it extends to all vessels of the Bey of Tunis?'

2. 'The extent of these relations in detail?'

3. 'By what means and channel they have been effected?'

4. 'Whether by way of Genoa or by way of Naples, and how far Murat or his Government has been concerned in establishing this communication?'

5. 'Whether the corsair came from Toulon, or from whence, when she arrived at Porto Ferrajo upon October 24?'

6. 'Whether she has conveyed persons or letters to or from Napoleon, by way of France or Corsica, Naples, or other parts of Italy?'

7. 'If not from Napoleon or to him, whether she has conveyed letters to or from other persons in Elba? The nature and extent of this communication, as much in detail as possible.'

Napoleon appears to be agitated by the want of money, and to be impressed with a fear that there is no intention of fulfilling the treaty made at Paris, in respect of the sums stipulated for himself and his family. In writing to Lord Castlereagh, I have set down the only expressions which

have fallen from himself, but those about his person cannot dissemble their belief in the reports which are circulated in Italy; to the effect that it is intended to remove him to St. Helena or St. Lucia. The wife of General Bertrand lately said that he has scarcely a shilling, not even a ring to present to any one, and that his situation is frightful.

I have expressed myself to Lord Castlereagh as follows:

[Despatch No. 34.]

'If pecuniary difficulties press upon him much longer, so as to prevent his vanity from being satisfied by the ridiculous establishment of a court which he has hitherto supported in Elba, and if his doubts are not removed, I think he is capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or of any other eccentricity. But if his residence in Elba and his income are secured to him, I think he will pass the rest of his life there in tranquillity.'

Nov. 13–18.—The last party of recruits who arrived from Corsica upon October 25 have been sent back, and it is given out that Napoleon does not wish to receive any more. It is difficult to say whether this is on account of the expense, the general discontent of these recruits, or that Napoleon's views and hopes are more extensive than they were upon his first arrival at Elba.

Upon the 15th instant a party of gendarmes were sent to the village of Capolini to enforce the arrears of contributions, but the inhabitants resisted. In consequence, Poles and Corsicans, amounting to nearly 400, were sent there upon the 17th during the night, and are to remain until the tax is paid, receiving each one pound of meat and an allowance of wine from the inhabitants of this small village, who do not probably exceed 400 or 500. Two priests and three others of the principal inhabitants were arrested at the same time, and conveyed to Porto Ferrajo.

Nov. 19–30.—Florence. I have come to this place for

the purpose of comparing my intelligence respecting the Tunisian corsair with that in possession of the Grand Duke's minister. I also requested Captain Adye, commanding His Majesty's ship 'Partridge' on the Elba station, to assist me in these inquiries, in case of his falling in with the Tunisian in the course of any of his cruises. He returned to Leghorn on November 20, and as he could not obtain any information respecting the corsair, he is of opinion that she has returned to Tunis.

Previously to my application to Captain Adye, the Tunisian had anchored a second time at Elba, but in the Port of Longono, where she remained from October 31 until November 10. She was in quarantine during the whole time, and I cannot ascertain that there was any underhand communication. The captain stated that he had sailed from Tunis for the express purpose of cruising on the Roman coast, but that the winds and bad weather had forced him to put into Toulon, where he had remained eighteen days in quarantine; that the same causes had induced him to put into Elba, and that he had no orders to seize the vessels of that island.

I have likewise been anxious to ascertain the result of the examination of a spy—one Ettori—who went from Elba to Leghorn, and was arrested there. The man is now here under the inspection of the police, but the information obtained respecting him has been far less important and conclusive than had been expected. In fact he appears to have been equally in the confidence of Marshal Bellegarde and Napoleon!

M. Ricci, who acts as vice-consul at Elba, and obtains private information for me there, has just transmitted to me a report respecting the embarkation of guns and shot. This is certainly a matter calculated to excite alarm, and deserves the utmost and most immediate attention. But I am persuaded it will prove to be old iron shipped for sale to the Continent, as a cargo of old guns, broken shells, &c., had been already sent by Napoleon to Civita Vecchia.

There has been a further reduction of servants and other expenses of Napoleon's household for the sake of economy. This reduction is estimated at 35,000 francs per month.

Four of the officers of Napoleon's corvette received decorations from Murat, but have been expressly forbidden to wear them. I do not yet know the grounds upon which this interdiction has been given.

Having supplied all the information in my power to Lord Burghersh (who has arrived here as His Majesty's Minister to the Court of Florence) with respect to my mission, and the objects connected therewith, I propose returning at once to Elba.

I have received the following despatch in reference to his lordship's appointment:

'Foreign Office: Oct. 13, 1814.

'Sir,—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having been pleased to appoint Lord Burghersh to be His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and it being desirable that his lordship should be kept constantly informed of the state of affairs at Elba, I have to signify to you His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's commands, that you send your official correspondence with this office under *flying seal* through Lord Burghersh at Florence. You will at the same time omit no opportunity of sending duplicates of your despatches by sea. I am, &c. &c.,

(Signed) 'BATHURST.

'Colonel Campbell, &c. &c.'

While I was at Florence, M. Hyde de Neuville[4] arrived there. From his distinguished zeal and ability in the

[4] *Memorandum respecting M. Hyde de Neuville, given to M. Planta, Secretary to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.*

'London: April 7, 1815.

'This gentleman came to Italy in November last, upon a pretext of arrangements between France and the Barbary Powers, but in fact (as he afterwards confessed to me, and as M. Fossombroni, the Minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, told me) to see what Bonaparte was doing in Elba. This was previous to the arrival of Lord Burghersh.

Bourbon cause, this gentleman was sent to Italy by the King of France's confidential friends, to collect information respecting Napoleon's situation and conduct at Elba. The mission conveys in itself an evident proof of the apprehensions they entertain, that the internal state of France and Bonaparte's situation were incompatible with the tranquillity of the nation. The French Consul in Tuscany, Monsieur Mariotti, informed me of M. H. de Neuville's arrival. The real object of his mission was imparted to me by M. Mariotti, as well as by M. Fossombroni, the Minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, although the ostensible object was said to be some arrangements respecting the Barbary Powers. The information of these gentlemen was sufficient to induce me to lay aside every reserve with M. H. de Neuville, although possessing no previous acquaintance with him, nor any other introduction. Perceiving that he

'Being assured, from undoubted sources, of his attachment to the Bourbons, of his intimacy with Sir Sidney Smith (with whom he had served on the coast of France, and with whom he was then in correspondence), I gave him the fullest information respecting Bonaparte's conduct and situation, and even respecting my own situation in Elba, his restlessness, the emissaries he had sent abroad to recruit for men, the extraordinary circumstance of his harbour being frequented by a Tunisian ship, which ship had last come from Toulon, that it was impossible to say what project might be masked under that connection. This vessel might pass in the Mediterranean from one port to another with less suspicion than his own, and his appearance in France might only be known after he was in possession of Toulon and the fleet.

'I expressed my great surprise that the King of France had not yet sent any confidential person to Italy, to remain there for the particular purpose of watching Bonaparte, who would discover his emissaries and plots among the various States of Italy, which would be done more effectually by one person employed for that object; also some ships to guard him.

'He was very thankful for the information, acquiesced in all my remarks, and set off immediately for Paris to report upon these subjects; and, very soon thereafter, several ships of war belonging to Louis XVIII. came to cruise near Elba. But I did not hear more of M. Hyde de Neuville, or any other agent of France.

'M. Hyde de Neuville, known to be a firm adherent to the King, must of course have given all that information to his Ministers, pointing out to them how very little check against any sudden aggression of Bonaparte there was by my residence, and how necessary it was to watch him.'

was greatly in error upon many points, I showed him Lord Castlereagh's instructions, and gave him every information connected with my own duties, Napoleon's situation, and his dispositions, desiring to call his attention to the unlimited freedom of person and communication with the Continent which Napoleon possessed. I then distinctly pronounced to him my opinion that Napoleon was not sufficiently watched; that I had no means of preventing him from escaping; that he was still of a most restless disposition; that discontented persons of an adventurous spirit, from France and Italy, frequented Elba; that it was a very suspicious circumstance, the communication held with the Tunisian ship; that I had traced her having come to Elba. I even supposed it possible to him, that a conspiracy might be formed in Napoleon's favour at Toulon; he could be conveyed in that ship, and that the first intelligence might be his being in possession of that important place and the fleet.

M. Hyde de Neuville took memoranda in writing, in my presence, of this information, and departed the following day in post haste to Paris.[5]

[5] Two French frigates were soon afterwards sent from Toulon to cruise round the island of Elba; but the evil could not be averted by them, and they were of no use whatever, as will be seen hereafter.

M. H. de Neuville was afterwards Minister to the United States of America. When referred to for minutes of the above conversation, he wrote as follows:

'Non seulement j'ai gardé le souvenir de notre conversation, mais il me serait aisé d'en donner les moindres détails si j'avais ici mes papiers, car cette intéressante conversation est consignée dans mon journal.

'Les circonstances que vous rappellez, Colonel, sont de la plus scrupuleuse exactitude. Il est de fait, que me trouvant à Florence, par suite d'une mission dont le Roi mon maître m'avait chargé auprès de plusieurs cours d'Italie, et ayant eu l'avantage de vous y rencontrer, vous me témoignâtes une extrême satisfaction de pouvoir enfin parler à un sujet de S. M. Louis XVIII, qui toujours avait été fidèle à sa cause. Vous me dîtes que vous pourriez enfin vous exprimer avec toute confiance, ce que vous fîtes alors avec autant de loyauté que d'obligeance. Il est certain, Colonel, que vous m'avouâtes que Bonaparte n'était point assez surveillé, que vous n'aviez aucun moyen de prévenir son évasion, et que vous

December 1, 2.—Leghorn. Since my arrival here, upon my way to Elba, I have ascertained that the guns, &c., which were embarked there, were (as I supposed) old iron to be sent to the Continent for sale. So persuaded was I of this, that I would not have transmitted the report to Lord Castlereagh, had I not been certain that it would reach Vienna through the Tuscan Government, and in more alarming terms.

Dec. 3.—Porto Ferrajo, Elba. I am now able to report on the above subject from personal observation. About three months ago Napoleon directed the old guns and part of the military stores to be removed from Longono (which is a considerable fortification on the Italian side of Elba) to this place, and part of them were afterwards sold at Civita Vecchia as old iron. The brig 'Inconstant' is now receiving an additional quantity for the same purpose.

n'étiez pas sans inquiétude, par suite de beaucoup de circonstances dont vous me fîtes part.

'Ces renseignements et d'autres que je venais d'obtenir, me déterminèrent à accélérer mon retour à Paris.' *

* *Translation of the above by Sir Neil Campbell*:—

'I have not forgotten any of the circumstances mentioned in it, and indeed I am of opinion that it would not be possible for any sovereign to find anyone more zealous in his cause than yourself. Not only do I well recollect our conversation, but, had I my papers with me at present, I could cite the most minute details of it, as that interesting conversation is preserved in my journal.

'The circumstances which you call to my recollection, Colonel, are stated by your letter with most scrupulous correctness. It is a fact that, being at Florence upon a mission with which the King my master had honoured me to several Courts in Italy, and having the good fortune to meet you there, you expressed to me the utmost satisfaction at having at length been able to communicate with one of the subjects of Louis XVIII., who had ever been faithful to his cause. You stated to me that at length you could speak without reserve, which you did with the greatest frankness and kindness. You certainly did avow to me, Colonel, that Bonaparte was not sufficiently watched, that you did not possess any means for preventing his evasion, and that you were not without uneasiness upon the subject, in consequence of many circumstances which you then disclosed to me.

'This communication, and others which were made to me, caused my return to Paris with greater haste.'

I have seen the correspondence which has passed between General Drouot and two merchants—one here and another at Naples—as to the terms of sale. The principal reasons alleged are the want of money, and the fact that, as the fortification is of no use to Napoleon, it only occasions an unnecessary expense. He therefore proposes to dismantle it entirely by degrees, in proportion as his means enable him to remove the stores.

In order to raise money, he has, within the last few days, sold a large public building in this town, formerly occupied as a soldiers' barrack, for 1,500 francs.

The agent sent to Florence, M. Colonna, was for the purpose of promoting a correspondence with Marie-Louise; in the first instance openly, by an amicable intercourse with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, afterwards clandestinely; but both of these have failed.

Dec. 4.—Had a conversation with Napoleon, which lasted three hours and a half.

After some general inquiries as to my health and last visit to the Continent, he said that Talleyrand was 'un scélérat, un prêtre défroqué, un homme des révolutions;'[6] in fact, everything that was bad. He knew that he was inimical to him long ago, and would betray him if an opportunity offered. He therefore told Cambacères, who was charged to remain at Paris with the Empress Marie-Louise, and who accompanied her to Orleans, not to leave Talleyrand alone at Paris; but he weakly yielded to *his* application to remain there, so pitifully supplicated for at the very moment of his quitting it.

I asked him whether the letter which had appeared in some of the newspapers as if written by Talleyrand, dissuading him from the war in Spain, was true. He said it was not—not one word of it; no such letter was ever written. It was Talleyrand who first proposed to him the invasion of Spain. After being turned out of office by him,

[6] 'A villain, a renegade priest, a revolutionist.'

in consequence of representations from the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemburg that he demanded sums of money for himself on several occasions, he nevertheless continued for a long time to frequent his evening parties along with Fouché, who was in office at that time. It was in hopes of reviving his credit with him (Napoleon) that Talleyrand advised him to profit by the dissensions which existed in Spain, between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand, and to put one of his own family upon the throne. He presented to him a memoir written to that effect by a friend of his own in Spain, who was intimate with the Prince of Peace. In fact he declared that Talleyrand was a Jacobin of the vilest heart; that he very often urged on him to get rid of the Bourbons by assassinating them; or, if he would not accede to that, to let them be carried off from England by a party of smugglers, who were in the constant habit of coming over. He always rejected the proposal, so long as they kept out of France. It was different with the Duke d'Enghien, who came to the frontier of France, even to the gates of Strasbourg, in order to foment conspiracies. But his death also was an act of Talleyrand's, it was proposed by him; and but for him too the Duke's life would have been saved, even after he was arrested. It was told him (Napoleon) that the Duke d'Enghien requested to speak to him. 'Cela me touchait. J'ai voulu voir le jeune homme, mais c'était déjà trop tard. Il avait pris les mesures pour l'empêcher. C'était lui, Talleyrand, qui en était la cause.'[7]

[In this relation Napoleon showed much enmity towards Talleyrand, but very little emotion or regret at the circumstance itself.]

He asked me whether I had heard of the divorce which it was proposed to institute between himself and the Empress.

[7] 'That touched me. I wished to see the young man, but it was already too late. He had taken measures to prevent it. It was he, Talleyrand, who was the cause.'

I told him I had, but only through the foreign papers, and there were so many untruths in the newspapers on the Continent, that I only read the English papers and the 'Gazette' of Florence. He said the story had been inserted in the journals of Genoa and Milan. I told him I was persuaded, that although Genoa was occupied by British troops, the officer who commanded there did not interfere with nor influence the press, but confined himself to his military duties. I then mentioned an anecdote which had been related, that Marie-Louise had been greatly chagrined at mistaking the Princess of Wales' courier for one of Napoleon's; and, when complimented by the Princess on her proficiency in music, she said she had studied it particularly in order to please Napoleon, for that to her he always was and would be perfect!'

Here he showed considerable emotion; spoke of the weakness and inhumanity of the Emperor of Austria, in keeping away his wife and child. She had promised to write to him every day upon her return from Switzerland to Vienna, but he had never since received one letter from her. His child was taken from him like the children taken by conquerors in ancient times to grace their triumphs. The Emperor ought to recollect how differently he had acted towards him when he was entirely at his mercy, and no ties of marriage existed. He had twice entered Vienna as a conqueror, but never exercised towards the Emperor such ungenerous conduct. It was not he who solicited the marriage; it was Metternich who proposed it to Narbonne. 'J'ai été très-heureux avec ma femme, mais pour moi le mariage a été très-funeste. J'aurais mieux fait de marier une princesse de Russie.'[8] His Council deliberated upon the proposition. Had it not been for the difference of religion, he would have married a Russian Princess. A

[8] 'I have been very happy with my wife, but the marriage has proved very disastrous for me. I should have done better to marry a Russian Princess.'

Greek chapel would not have answered in Paris. To have seen him going to one church, and his wife to a Greek chapel, would not have looked well, and therefore this other marriage was decided upon. As to settlements, he told them to copy the contract of marriage between Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette: in half an hour it was signed by Schwartzenberg.

He again spoke of the weakness and ingratitude of the Emperor of Austria, who had once come to his camp to supplicate for forbearance. So weak was he as to tell Marie-Louise lately that Metternich was Napoleon's friend, and had assured him that he would attend to Napoleon's interests.

In answer to a question, I said that if he gave me a letter for the Empress, I would send it to Lord Burghersh, who had desired me to announce his arrival at Florence, and to offer his services in any way consistent with his duty. He said this might be prejudicial to Lord Burghersh and myself. I replied that I did not apprehend so. The letter would be forwarded to Lord Castlereagh, who would either openly deliver it, or return it honourably.

He was prepared, he said, for every act of personal hostility and oppression, even to the taking his life. Was it not evident that there was some such intention against him in the choice made of the governor of Corsica—Brulart—a man who was employed for many years by the Bourbons while in England in plots and conspiracies with Georges and others? Brulart had even changed his residence from Ajaccio to Bastia, so as to be at the point nearest Elba. Since then he had never gone out to take exercise except with four armed soldiers to accompany him. Brulart could not have been selected with any other view, for he had no connection whatever with Corsica; so far otherwise, that one of the regiments now there had been employed against him in La Vendée.

They spoke of removing him to England. There he

would have society, and enjoy an opportunity of explaining the circumstances of his life, and doing away with many prejudices, such as was not possible in the island of Elba. In England he could even see and communicate with his partisans better than at Elba; four-fifths of the French people were in his favour.

He pointed out, as he had frequently done before, the impolicy of humiliating France; that the ferment there would break out one day or other, and the Sovereigns of Europe would then perhaps, for their own interest and repose, find it necessary to call him in to tranquillise the country.

At present nothing could be wiser than the conduct of the King of France, but the Government acted differently. They openly ordered the restoration of property to the *émigrés* and ancient families. Even he himself dared not do so. Whenever he brought them forward, he felt that 'les rênes frémissaient dans mes mains!'[9] Much might be done for them in the way of restitution without proclaiming it to all France, and thus affecting the security of so much property.

He had been abused in numerous publications; the epithets of Nero, Brutus, &c., had been applied to him. It had been said that he had received lessons for attitude from Talma, and similar circumstances were stated which had no foundation whatever, while others were exaggerated or perverted. These things proved the adage, 'C'est la vérité seule qui peut blesser,'[1] and therefore he had not been affected by them.

The French knew what he had done for them; how many millions he had brought into the country, and expended in works of public utility. Many of these, which were entirely executed by him, were now ascribed to his predecessors. Before him there was not a sewer in all the

[9] 'The reins trembled in my hands.'

[1] 'It is the *truth* alone that can wound.'

streets of Paris; water was scarce. The quays were entirely formed by him. Posterity would do him justice.

I told him he ought to fulfil the pledge given at Fontainebleau by writing his 'Memoirs;' that I had received letters from booksellers in London, totally unknown to me, expressing great anxiety on the subject. One in particular, who had published his brother Lucien's poem of 'Charlemagne,' wished to propose terms. 'Yes,' he said; 'I shall publish my "Memoirs," but they will not be very long.'

The Bourbons ought to pursue towards him the same forbearance he had shown with regard to them after he ascended the throne. He would not allow either praise or invective, either good or evil, to be published respecting them.

He had been called '*lâche*!' (coward). 'I say nothing of my life as a soldier. Is it no proof of my courage to live here, shut up in this *bicoque* of a house, separated from the world, with no interesting occupation, no *savants* with me, nor any variety in my society, excepting when I have occasionally the pleasure of conversing with yourself—even without money?'

Here he stated the sum he had brought with him from France. 'So small were his means,' he said, 'that he had been under the necessity of obtaining an addition, sent to him from Orleans by the Empress, before he could even leave Fontainebleau!'

There had been abuse against him even in the *exposé* of the French budget. It was a false statement, for there was no notice of four hundred millions of '*domaines privés*' taken by the Royal Family. It was at one time his intention to have replied to this paper, but he afterwards thought it better not to do so.

He inquired about the Congress. I told him the most perfect secrecy was preserved, but it was generally understood that the greatest harmony prevailed.

It appeared extraordinary to him that Murat's fate was

not known. He had ordered a levy of 25,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, which betrayed a want of confidence on his part towards the Allies. Murat, however, I might depend upon it, did nothing but in concert with Austria. When his sister, Princess Pauline, left Naples, the Austrian Minister was king there! He ridiculed the idea of Murat resisting any terms the Allies might choose to impose upon him. All he could do, was to seek his own death; to fall with arms in his hands, rather than yield to their demands.

He was surprised at the bad policy of England in wishing to restore the family of Ferdinand to the throne of the Two Sicilies. How much more her interest to separate the island of Sicily!

With what hope could the sovereigns of Europe look forward to the enjoyment of tranquillity, with discontent boiling in France and Italy, countries which formed so great a portion of the Continent? Even in Germany it appeared that many of the petty princes were not satisfied. Prince Fürstenberg and many others had presented an address to the Emperor of Austria, at which he had shed tears. Bavaria and Wurtemburg could not but view that with uneasiness.

He ridiculed the nomination of the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia to be colonels of Austrian regiments, and their asking leave of absence as such from the Emperor of Austria. What childishness! 'L'Empereur Alexandre est un acteur, et très-faux; tout à fait Grec.'[2] Frederick the Great of Prussia having put on the uniform of the Austrian levies when he paid a visit to the Emperor of Austria was not a similar case. Nor did the meeting between Francis I. and Henry VIII. bear any resemblance to the meeting of the Allied Sovereigns. It might be very well to give the use of a regiment to that Ostrogoth the Grand Duke

[2] 'The Emperor Alexander is an actor, and very false; a complete Greek.'

Constantine, wherewith to amuse himself. During the preparation for the Peace of Amiens, Lord Cornwallis asked him for a regiment of cavalry, the exercise of which he constantly attended, but that was very different too.

In talking of the entry of the Allies into Paris, and the operations at that period, he said that his Guards were only one march from Fontainebleau with the design of attacking them; that, in that case, Schwartzenberg would have abandoned Paris, and taken a defensive position on the other side. General Köller had told him so, and Funti said the same.

[Here he stopped himself, and seemed embarrassed at having mentioned the name of the latter. He has always asked me, on my return from any of my late visits to the Continent, whether I had seen Funti, who was formerly a senator at Paris and now lives at Florence.]

I told him he had a more favourable opportunity for attacking Schwartzenberg at Arcis, when Blucher's army was separated. He said that might be so—perhaps he was wrong; but his views at that time were to have attacked the Allies in detail from the rear; and that had he not been disconcerted by Marmont's disobedience of orders (who did not push on to Chalons, as directed), he would have destroyed the one army, and then turned back upon Blucher.

Here he related the view of affairs which had induced him to abdicate. He could have supported the war in France for years, and perhaps have carried it out of the kingdom. But although the people would have flocked to his standard, and the army would have stood firm, this would have been the ruin of France. With the armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg in Paris, Wellington pressing forward from Toulouse, Augereau beaten at Lyons (for he did not then know that he was indisposed to exert himself at all), a faction in Paris against him, and the senate weak enough to assemble by the orders of their

enemy, he had no hesitation in descending from the throne, as it appeared to be the only way of saving France. But he would never have done so had not Marmont deserted him—except, indeed, on the regency of the Empress and her son being secured. In his own person he could not even consent to any peace except according to such a treaty as that proposed at Frankfort. France could not submit to any other line than that of the Rhine, and he had himself openly said that, if he made peace at Chatillon, he should not be able to keep it three months. The people generally might be tired of the wars into which his conquests had led them (*entraînés*), but they would never be satisfied to remain at peace on the terms now imposed. In France there are 800,000 men who have carried arms. He had now no regret in his abdication, nor yet in his refusal of the last propositions for peace. He would do the same over again. Lord Castlereagh prevented the peace at Frankfort. The other Allies were perfectly willing to consent to it, but England wished to diminish France. I reminded him that Lord Castlereagh did not arrive until after the Allies had crossed the Rhine.

On his asking what were the observations of English travellers who had come lately from Paris, I told him that the people in France, particularly the military, did not show so much good-will towards the English as at first. Many of the French officers, I believed, felt sore at having been put on board the prison-ships; but this arose from many of them, of all ranks,[3] breaking their paroles and deserting. He said we had done the same. I told him that no officer who deserted would be received either by the Commander-in-chief or by his own corps. He said he had published

[3] One of the most notable instances was that of General Lefèbvre Desnouettes, who had been taken prisoner at Benevente, while pressing Sir John Moore's retreat. He broke his parole in England the following year, and escaped to France. Napoleon at once reinstated him in the command of the mounted Chasseurs of the Guard, and ever afterwards treated him with marked favour.—ED.

a list of them in the 'Moniteur.' I assured him that these were civilians, some of whom might be in the yeomanry or militia, but not in the regular army or navy. He said they were, in his view, equally prisoners of war. As we, immediately on declaring war, had seized all French subjects and their property on the sea, although not belonging to the military service, he in like manner detained all British subjects whom he could lay hold of on the Continent.

I related to him the anecdote of the Princess of Wales' wig and crown tumbling down at the feet of Lucien Bonaparte, adding that she was frequently at his house in Rome. But this did not produce any observation from him respecting his brother, excepting that he supposed they had met in England. I told him, certainly not.

He said England had not acted generously in prosecuting the war against America, but showed a spirit of inveterate revenge. It weakened her voice at present at the Congress, so great a portion of her force being absent from Europe. She had not occupied Louisiana, nor acquired any great or permanent object. The Americans would gradually improve, and we should have to be satisfied to make peace without having gained any accession of strength or power. Our character, after standing lately so high in the eyes of all Europe, would diminish by the sort of warfare in which we indulged against private property, trading vessels, storehouses, &c. I told him the Americans had no right to expect generosity from us after their ungenerous provocation in forcing us into war when the whole of Europe was arrayed against us. The first excesses were practised by them in burning towns and villages in Upper Canada, even after threats of retaliation were held out to them.

I asked him whether it was true that he had proposed to the British Government, during the Peace of Amiens, to unite in an expedition against the Barbary Powers. He

said he had; that the present state of things was a disgrace to all the civilised Powers; but that it depends only on England to put an end to it; and as we had been the means of abolishing the slave trade, or nearly so, so we ought in like manner to make this a national object. I told him that societies had lately been formed with this view, and that they were daily increasing.

He then related at great length his own history, from the beginning of the Revolution, and with more fire and precision than usual.

In the commencement of the Revolution he marched with his company of artillery to Douai, where he witnessed some scenes of violence without taking any part in them. By chance the routine of service sent him to Toulon, where the operations had been very badly conducted under the *Représentants du Peuple.* He had been conspicuous among his schoolfellows and comrades for his knowledge of mathematics, and had been selected by them to compile a Memoir, according to custom, against the Engineer department. From the character thus acquired, he was desired to draw up a Memoir with his plan of operations against Toulon. He did so, and was then allowed to take a detached work, which he had pointed out as the key of the place. On this he immediately received the command of the artillery, and the direction of the operations, according to his own plan, which proved successful. This gave him confidence in himself. He was appointed general of brigade, and came to Paris. There he was named to a command in La Vendée as a general of infantry, but not liking that war, nor to be employed out of his own line in a subordinate situation, he declined it, saying he was an officer of artillery.

Soon afterwards Menou, who commanded the Army of the Interior, was beaten by the Parisians, who likewise threatened the Convention. He himself was at the theatre, in perfect obscurity, and going out, by chance he heard the

boys bawling out a decree of the Convention, in which his own name was vociferated. He listened; and as it could be no other but himself, he gave two sous for one of the papers, went to one side, and there read the decree of the Convention, by which he was named General of the Interior. He proceeded towards the Committee of Public Safety, and in the course of his walk there again heard his name vociferated about the streets. On entering the Hall, he found the members despatching persons to find him out, if possible, in his obscure residence. 'Le Général Bonaparte! Le petit général d'artillerie!'[4] was resounded everywhere upon his being perceived. He was ushered into another room by some of the members, where he found Menou in arrest. 'Que voulez-vous de moi, citoyen?'[5] he demanded of one of the Convention. 'Citoyen, vous êtes nommé au commandement de l'Intérieur!'[6] 'I said that, before I accepted the offer, I must ask some information of General Menou. Very well. I asked the General where was his artillery? At—— [I could not catch the word]. How many pieces? Forty. Guarded by what force? About forty or fifty cavalry. I immediately called Murat, who was standing by us in the uniform of a captain of cavalry. What number of cavalry have you at your immediate command? Two hundred. Mount instantly, and bring here all that artillery. Sabre all that oppose you. He executed my order. I placed the artillery so as to sweep the streets that day—it was the 13th Vendemiaire—and secured certain other parts with barricades and pallisades—forced the Parisians to remain quiet, and restored the power of the Convention.' He remained in this command during three months, after which he was named general of artillery to the Army of Italy, and afterwards to the chief command.

After his successful campaigns as General Bonaparte,

[4] 'General Bonaparte, the little general of artillery.'

[5] 'What do you want with me, citizen?'

[6] 'Citizen, you are nominated to the command of the Interior.'

commanding the Army of Italy, he returned to Paris, where he remained some time in a small house in perfect retirement, wearing only a *froque*, or covering himself up in his cloak, in order to go to the Institute, of which he was a member. This was in consequence of the military calling out, 'Nous voulons avoir le Général Bonaparte, notre petit général, pour notre chef.'[7] Others said, 'Il doit être roi, il faut le faire roi.'[8] This gave him great uneasiness, for he was a Republican in opinion, and had no wish to avail himself of the desire of the army and Parisians. If he had not preserved the most cautious conduct, it would have led to his destruction, either by causing his assassination, or getting him put out of the way upon false charges.

Notwithstanding his determination not to profit by the feeling in his favour, nor to give any pretext for suspicion, the Directory became jealous of him. Talleyrand was therefore sent with a proposal, that he should carry an army to Egypt. He was as much overjoyed, and entered as ardently into the project, as if it had originated with himself. He resolved to give his whole heart to the expedition, looking forward to it as his only object, in order that he might either march on to India, or to Constantinople, according as circumstances might arise in the course of time.

By one of the arrivals from France, while in Egypt, he received a decree of the Directory, which was to be inserted as an *ordre du jour*, according to the practice at that time. This decree related to the electors, and it so disgusted him that, from that moment, he was no longer a Republican. He said to himself, 'Je ferai fondre tout cela.'[9] For a long time afterwards he received no intelligence from France, but one day Sir Sidney Smith (who was always eager to send flags of truce, and keep up communication with him

[7] 'We wish to have General Bonaparte, our little general, for our chief.'

[8] 'He ought to be king. We must make him king.'

[9] 'I will put an end to all that.'

by these means) forwarded some newspapers of a recent date. In these he read of the reverses of Italy, the taking of Mantua, &c. Now is my time, he exclaimed to himself, and immediately took his measures, and returned to France.

'You will perceive,' he continued, 'that I have engaged but little in the disorders of the Revolution. I was born in an island, half Italian, half French, but I am a Frenchman in soul (*en âme*). I left Corsica at an early age, was educated in France, and have passed my life there.'

I told him that many persons in England asserted that, upon his quitting Egypt, it was his intention to have restored order for the Bourbons. He turned round quickly towards me, and looking with an air of agitation, replied, 'Ce n'est pas vrai, jamais; cela aurait été une trahison envers les Français. Cela n'aurait pas été consulter leur bonheur et leurs intérêts.'[1] 'After the battle of Marengo the Abbé Montesquieu,' he said, 'gave me a letter from Louis XVIII., wherein he asked my assistance to restore him to the throne. Without me he had no hope! Without him I could have no security! I replied, with all the respect that was due to him, that I could not accede to his proposals; but that I should always be happy to contribute, as far as I could, towards the welfare of himself and his family in other respects.'

Dec. 5.—To-day I presented, at an interview with Napoleon, Captain Adye, commanding H.M.S. 'Partridge' on the Elba station.

Captain Adye having informed Napoleon that he had served on board of Lord Nelson's ship at the battle of Aboukir, he at once entered minutely into the details of that action. As I have perceived in many similar conversations upon naval matters, Napoleon has no idea of the

[1] 'It is not true, never; that would have been treason towards the French. That would not have been to consult their happiness and their interests.'

hazard incident to movements upon a coast, nor of the difficulties occasioned by winds and tides, but judges of changes of position in the case of ships as he would with regard to troops upon land. He said that Admiral Brueys expected Lord Nelson's attack would have been on his left, but he ought to have made sail instead of waiting for it at anchor. In a book of Regulations and Instructions for the French Navy there is a plan of a fleet at anchor, with another attacking in the same way as Nelson. It was singular enough that at L'Orient, while he was on board Admiral Brueys' ship, the latter showed him this very plan, and pointed out the disadvantages a fleet would labour under, in waiting for an attack in such a position, instead of getting under weigh. Captain Adye said that Admiral Brueys could not well expect that Lord Nelson's attack should have taken place before the following morning, and that, as far as he recollected, the wind would not allow of his getting under weigh when the attack was about to begin.

Napoleon spoke of Sir Robert Calder's action, and blamed Villeneuve for not attacking the British on the second day. Instead of losing time by putting his vessels into order and arranging their numbers, he ought to have borne down to the attack in any order. I remarked that if the French lost two ships on the preceding day, while the British had only one out of action, the former of course were comparatively less able to engage on the next day. He said those two ships were taken by manœuvre and accident, not by force. If the British Admiral had confidence in his own strength, why did he not attack on the second day, and prevent the French from going into Vigo? I replied that the British Admiral was to leeward, and it depended upon the French to attack: this they made a show of doing, but never came down. The Admiral had another object in view, and could not follow the French fleet to the coast, where he would also have had to encounter the fleet then

in Ferrol. He said that was only an excuse, advanced from national pride, for the Admiral ran away during the night of the 23rd (July, 1805).

He lamented deeply the conduct of Villeneuve in disobeying his orders in various ways during the cruise, so as to occasion an improper and unnecessary loss of time in the West Indies, and in going to Cadiz instead of up the Channel, where he was anxiously awaiting him, in order that he might cross over with his flotilla. He explained his plan of deceiving us, by mounting guns on the transports, as if he intended to force his passage across. He would have landed either in Kent or, if possible, on the right bank of the Thames, so as to turn all the defences of towers, canal, &c., made by Mr. Pitt. This danger must always hang over England. An invasion is perfectly practicable whenever France can assemble a larger army than England, and at the same time obtain, for a week or ten days, the command of the Channel with her fleet. On this account the formation of the port of Cherbourg is a serious consideration for England. Our possessions are so extensive, that we must have fleets to guard each of them, and to watch the movements which may be directed against them. While engaged in this, it is easy to mislead so great a proportion of the British navy, that the French must infallibly obtain that superiority in the Channel which is required for a time, in order to effect the invasion. However, he himself foresaw that, if his preparations were *not* put into execution, it would have the effect of making England a military as well as a naval Power, by rousing the spirit and energies of the whole people, and causing them to form both armed associations and a great army. In the event it had proved so, for it was this which gave both the impulse and the materials for the British army, as particularly shown in Spain.

I told him it was often doubted in England whether he intended to accompany the first body of troops who were

to attempt the invasion, and hoped he would excuse my asking him the question. He told me, Certainly, he meant to command it in person. The whole would have left Boulogne together, and disembarked as quickly and as much in company as they could. But if the wind admitted of it, he should prefer landing in or near the Thames—so as to turn all the defences constructed by Mr. Pitt—rather than on the coast of Kent. No British force could be collected in sufficient numbers to oppose him. His subsequent measures, in case of success, must depend upon circumstances, but he should certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and success he considered certain.

At first there was a brig placed by Admiral Lord Exmouth upon the Elba station, to act in concert with me. But, upon his departure, Admiral Hallowell directed this vessel never to remain longer than twenty-four hours at Elba, for fear of causing jealousy to other Powers. On my making a representation to the latter, a partial relaxation of the order was allowed, in case of a positive necessity and direct application on my part.

For some time past the 'Partridge' has been under orders to be in readiness to accompany a Sicilian frigate from Leghorn to Sicily, as soon as the Prince Leopold of Sicily should arrive there from Vienna. As this would leave me without means of communication, I have this day written to Rear-Admiral Penrose, now commanding in the Mediterranean, as follows:—

'Porto Ferrajo, Isle of Elba: December 5, 1814.

'Sir,—I avail myself of the first opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated November 21, and to express my thanks for your offers of assistance to the objects of my mission.

'I beg leave to assure you, that every circumstance connected with the isle of Elba, and which appears to me

in the smallest degree interesting to you as Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, shall be regularly transmitted.

'I presume you are in possession of my correspondence with Lord Exmouth and Rear-Admiral Hallowell, by which you will perceive that I submitted to the latter the inconvenience which might arise to the interests of His Majesty's Government from the restrictions which he had placed upon the man-of-war employed here, subsequently to the departure of Lord Exmouth, and the intention of withdrawing her entirely to accompany the Sicilian frigate, neither of which circumstances can have entered into the calculation of His Majesty's Government according to my instructions.

'I beg leave to submit to your consideration my representations to that effect, and am supported in the same opinion by that of His Majesty's Minister at the Court of Florence—particularly until the proceedings of the Congress and the affairs of Italy are finally settled, and especially those of Naples.

'Notwithstanding these surmises, I hope I shall not excite your apprehensions; but it is necessary to be prepared for possibilities. A thousand reports and conjectures are afloat as to an understanding between Napoleon and Murat. I have no reason myself, however, to believe that the enmity which existed between them has yet been removed, and the alarming apprehensions circulated respecting Napoleon arise from old guns, shot, and shells having been sent from the dismantled fort of Longono to sell at Civita Vecchia.

'It is impossible for me to advert further to all the reports which have been circulated, even by persons in public situations in Italy. The correspondence which I have had with Captain Adye, and which I presume he has transmitted to you, arose more from these prevailing rumours than from any belief of my own in the circum-

stances to which I requested his attention, by means of a memorandum to that effect.

'It is with great satisfaction that I avail myself of this occasion to express to you that cordial and zealous co-operation which I received from Captain Adye in the execution of our united duties.

(Signed) 'NEIL CAMPBELL.'

December 6.—In a despatch under this date [No. 38], I have written to Lord Castlereagh thus :—

'I beg leave to repeat my opinion that, if the means of subsistence which he was led to expect on coming to Elba are given to him, he will remain here in perfect tranquillity, unless some great opening should present itself in Italy or France. He does not dissemble his opinion as to the latter, in regard to the present temper of the people, and what may be expected hereafter.

'I keep a strict look-out upon all vessels belonging to this island, a list of which I do myself the honour of enclosing for your Lordship's information. I have also given the same to Admiral Penrose, commanding His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and to the naval officer on this station.'

List of Vessels belonging to Napoleon Bonaparte in the Island of Elba.

1. One brig, 'L'Inconstant,' 16 guns, commanded by M. Talliade, formerly of the French Imperial Navy.

This corvette was given to Napoleon, at the time of his abdication, by the Provisional Government, and has lately returned from Naples with Napoleon's sister, Pauline. At present she is taking old guns, shot, and shells at Longono, to carry to Italy for sale.

2. One bombard, 'L'Étoile,' with two masts—Captain Richon—unarmed, 90 tons.

3. One felucca, 'La Caroline'—two four-pounders, 26 tons.

4. One felucca, 'La Pastorella'—M. Cornevali—5 tons, unarmed.

Remarks.—The bombard is generally employed in bringing grain and flour from Civita Vecchia; the two feluccas in carrying provisions to Pia Nosa, and in watching the coast near Rio, to prevent the inhabitants from sending away ore from the mines on their own account.

Besides these vessels, which are the private property of Napoleon, there are seventeen belonging to the inhabitants of Rio, which are employed in carrying the iron ore to the coast of Italy and Genoa for sale. They are from 50 to 100 tons each, consisting of 10 pinques, 2 brigs, 5 xebecs, and 1 brigantine.

Dec. 7-10.—I really believe that Napoleon's reason for preventing the officers of his brig from wearing the decoration of Naples is on account of his enmity towards Murat.

The inhabitants of Capolini paid their contributions, upon which the troops were withdrawn. The priests are confined to the town of Porto Ferrajo, and suspended from their functions by the Grand Vicaire, at Napoleon's desire.

The Intendant-General of the island of Elba informs me that Napoleon's troops and vessels cost him one million of francs per year, while all his sources of revenue, including the contributions, will not net four hundred thousand this year. In addition to the discharging a number of servants lately, he has reduced to one-half the salary of his surgeon, treasurer, and some others who hold civil appointments in his household, and who accompanied him from Fontainebleau.

Dec. 11-19, *Leghorn.*—M. Mariotti, the French Consul here, read to me the substance of a conversation which Napoleon had with a M. Litta, who came to Elba about six weeks ago from Milan. He has been described to me as a native of that city, well connected, possessing ability and enterprise, much attached to Napoleon, and inveterate against the Austrians.

M. Mariotti did not inform me by what means he obtained a knowledge of this conversation. It is not probable that any person could have overheard it, or that M. Litta would divulge it; and I believe that persons who are employed by different governments to watch over Bonaparte's actions sometimes exaggerate, falsify, or invent stories, in order to appear the more zealous in their duties. However, I shall enclose a copy of the conversation to Lord Castlereagh, as near as I can recollect it.

[*Enclosure A, in Despatch No.* 40.]

Napoleon. 'Que voulez-vous?'

Litta. 'Je viens faire mes hommages à Votre Majesté, et vous offrir les assurances fidèles d'une vie consacrée à Votre Majesté.'

N. 'Est-ce que le Général Bellegarde est à Milan?'

L. 'Oui, Sire.'

N. 'Est-il aimé?'

L. 'Non, Sire.'

N. 'Le Duc de Modène, est-il aimé?'

L. 'Il tâche à se faire aimer, Sire, mais comme tous ses sujets sont dégoûtés de devenir si petits, cela ne peut pas être.'

N. 'J'ai voulu faire de belles choses pour les Italiens.'

[D'abord Napoléon demandait de l'esprit parmi les Piémontais, les Milanais, les Toscans et les autres Italiens.

Litta lui répondait qu'il n'avait qu'un sentiment parmi tous, excepté quelques prêtres et quelques hommes de soixante années.]

N. 'Mais sont-ils fermes?'

L. 'Votre Majesté peut toujours compter sur eux; et si Votre Majesté avait été avec nous, les circonstances n'auraient pas changé, comme elles sont à présent.'

N. 'Mais le Prince Eugène vous a bien commandés?'

L. 'Il nous a trop méprisés, Sire.'

N. 'Et mon Grand Chambellan, Caprara, que fait-il?'

L. 'Il est très-affligé, Sire.'

N. 'Combien de vos troupes ont pris le service avec les Autrichiens?'

L. 'Je crois à peu près de six mille, et le Général Palombini.'

N. 'Et mes Gardes, est-ce que beaucoup d'eux ont pris le service avec les Autrichiens?'

L. 'Non, Sire, la plupart d'eux ont pris le service de Naples.'

N. 'Combien de troupes autrichiennes sont en Italie?'

L. 'On comptait soixante mille hommes quelque temps passé, mais il y en a beaucoup qui sont partis en Autriche.'

N. 'Êtes-vous seul ici?'

L. 'Je suis accompagné d'un jeune homme qui a servi aussi sous les aigles de Votre Majesté.'

N. 'Et où allez-vous?'

L. 'J'ai l'intention d'aller à Naples.'

N. 'Naples.' (Il a regardé M. L., et a pris un air pensif.) 'Je vous verrai encore avant votre départ.'

I have since learnt that M. Mariotti had this conversation from a person in particular intimacy with M. Litta, to whom he confided it.

Dec. 20.—Returned to Elba.

Dec. 21.—Had a conversation with General Bertrand concerning the statements which appeared in some of the continental journals that General Köller (the Austrian officer who accompanied Bonaparte from Fontainebleau) was now on his way from Vienna to this place.

Soon afterwards I received a message from Napoleon, requesting to see me the same evening at 8 P.M. I have no doubt it arose from his anxiety upon the same subject; for, very soon after saluting me, he asked as to the foundation of the report, and again introduced it several times during a conversation of two hours which I had with him

upon various other subjects. He inquired if I had read the report? If I knew it from any other source? What did I suppose to be the object of the journey? Was it respecting Marie-Louise? Of course I could only express my entire ignorance, excepting having read the report in a French newspaper, under the head of a letter from Vienna. He seemed to me to view the report more with feelings of hope and eager curiosity than of apprehension.

He discussed the proceedings of Congress at Vienna, and asked me whether it was expected there would be a renewal of war. He knew there were serious differences of opinion, and he did not think they would be easily adjusted. The Congress might be continued for five years, during which time Prussia would keep possession of Saxony, England and Holland of Belgium, and Russia of Poland.

I asked him what he thought of Marshal Soult being appointed Minister of War in France. He did not appear to relish the news, but admitted that the King of France could not have made a wiser choice. 'He will be faithful to the Bourbons,' Napoleon added, 'so long as there is no weight in the other scale; but if ever a patriotic party (as he called it) arises, they need not confide in him! He cannot forget twenty years of service for the glory of France.'

In talking of France, he said that many of his Guards had letters from their comrades and relations, who described the discontent to be very general, and congratulated them on having accompanied him to Elba; that he had no correspondents there himself, but he received many anonymous communications, which described the same state of affairs, and expressed great fears of another revolution and the reign of terror.

'The present Government is too feeble. The Bourbons should make war as soon as possible, in order to establish themselves upon the throne. With such an army as they could assemble, it would not be difficult to recover Belgium.

It is only for the British there that the French army has the smallest awe.'

He inquired whether it was true that the French established in Leghorn were ordered to quit it. I told him I had not heard so.

The other parts of his conversation were not remarkable, and, as usual, contained much repetition.

Dec. 22–27.—It is reported in this island, and at Leghorn, that proposals have been made by Napoleon to the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the sale of his brass guns.

I was misinformed in stating lately to Lord Castlereagh that some of the Corsican recruits had been sent back. So far from it, that they still continue to come over here in small parties, clandestinely; eight arrived here on the 10th ult.

Napoleon has lately sold some provisions which were in store in the fort of Longono.

Dec. 28.—Although General Drouot informed me that the 'Inconstant' brig had gone to Civita Vecchia for grain, yet, as it was currently reported and generally believed in the island that Bonaparte had sent her to the Levant, supplied with three months' provisions, I was induced to request Captain Adye, commanding H.M.S. 'Partridge,' to look in at the former port.

He returned here this morning, and informs me that the 'Inconstant' and another of Napoleon's smaller vessels are in the harbour of Civita Vecchia, but that the Pope has refused them permission to export any more grain to Elba from his States. This will prove a considerable annoyance to Napoleon, as there is no other State from whence he can so economically draw this indispensable article for the supply of his troops, workmen, and household.

Dec. 29–31.—Napoleon's spirits seem of late rather to rise than to yield in the smallest degree to the pressure of pecuniary difficulties; although his mother, and some

of the principal persons who have followed his fortune, are constantly absorbed in grief and effusions of discontent. They place their last hope for amelioration in the Congress, the members of which, they expect, will fix the regular payment of Napoleon's annuity, according to treaty. They appear also to entertain sanguine hopes that Marie-Louise will reside at Parma as sovereign, and even that she will come to Elba after the Congress is dissolved; from all which they draw favourable conclusions.

Of late Napoleon does not oppose the return to France of officers or soldiers who urge it; but most of them prolong their service with him only to await the issue of the Congress.

Fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates received their discharges last week, and have taken their passages in vessels for Genoa. I have seen several of these discharges; they are regularly stamped upon parchment, with the title, 'Congé absolu, Garde Impériale, Bataillon Napoléon.' The services and descriptions of the men are recited, and the motive assigned for the discharge is, 'en le pressant besoin que sa famille paraît avoir de lui.' They are signed by 'Comte Drouot, Général de Division, Gouverneur de l'île d'Elbe,' and by several other officers, precisely according to the previous forms under the government of Napoleon. They are stamped at the top with a seal, upon which there is an eagle.

It is universally supposed in Italy, and publicly stated, that Great Britain is responsible to the other Powers for the detention of Napoleon's person, and that I am the executive agent for this purpose. Napoleon believes this. He has gradually estranged himself from me, and various means are taken to show me that my presence is disagreeable. Of this, however, I could not be certain for a long time, as it was done by hints which could not well be noticed.

I think his inviting Lord Ebrington to dine with

him,[2] without me, was intended as a marked slight, for the purpose of inducing me to quit Elba entirely. But, always expecting the Congress to be brought to an end, I have resolved to make the sacrifice of my own feelings until that event, occasionally going to Leghorn, Florence, and the baths of Lucca for my health and for amusement, as well as to compare my observations here with the information of the authorities on the Continent and the French Consul at Leghorn. My return always gives me an opportunity of asking for an interview with Napoleon, to pay my respects. Of late he has evidently wished to surround himself with great forms of court, as well to preserve his own consequence in the eyes of the Italians as to keep me at a distance; for I could not transgress on these without the probability of an insult, or the proffer of servile adulation inconsistent with my sentiments.

[2] Dec. 8, 1814. Lord Ebrington (afterwards Earl Fortescue) published a record of his conversation on this as well as a previous occasion, under the title of 'Memorandum of Two Conversations between the Emperor Napoleon and Viscount Ebrington at Porto Ferrajo, on December 6 and 8, 1814.'—ED.

CHAPTER VII.

GOES TO GENOA—INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON ON RETURN—M. RICCI VICE-CONSUL—SUSPICIOUS PERSONS AT PORTO FERRAJO—WARM ARGUMENT WITH GENERAL BERTRAND—VISIT TO CONTINENT—MEETS MR. COOKE, UNDER-SECRETARY—SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES—EMBARKS IN 'PARTRIDGE' FOR ELBA—LANDING AND DISCOVERY OF NAPOLEON'S ESCAPE—INTERVIEWS WITH MR. GRATTAN, MADAME BERTRAND, M. LAPIS, AND PAULINE—PURSUIT OF NAPOLEON—RETURN TO ENGLAND.

JANUARY 1815.—Early in this month I went to Genoa, in hopes of affording to the Austrian General, Köller, the means of coming here with the man-of-war belonging to this station, and being desirous also of conversing with him previously to his arrival in this island. Receiving no instructions of any sort from Vienna, I was anxious to let General Köller know my uneasiness respecting Napoleon, and my suspicions of his holding communications of an improper nature with Murat. As, however, he did not arrive here within the period calculated upon, I returned to Elba.

During my absence, accounts had been received at Porto Ferrajo that many Italian officers, including some generals, had been arrested at Milan, and that General Köller had gone there from Vienna.

In the first interview I had with Napoleon after my return (January 14), he asked many questions as to the nature of the charge against those officers. I told him that I had no knowledge beyond the public reports at Genoa, which ascribed their arrest to the discovery of a plot against the Austrian Government; and it was more-

over stated that the information as to their plans had been given by Murat. He said repeatedly, 'On ne trouvera rien contre moi. Au moins, on ne trouvera pas que je sois compromis du tout.'[1] These expressions, as well as the whole tenour of his conversation upon the subject, bore evident marks of anxiety. He did not believe, he added, that these persons were guilty of any crime, but that it was merely a pretext of the Austrian Government, in order to confine them, and then remove them out of Italy.

He then spoke of the statements which had appeared in some of the newspapers respecting his removal to St. Helena or St. Lucia, in a way which showed his belief in them, said he would not consent to being transported from Elba, but would resist the attempt by force to the last. 'Avant cela il faut faire une brèche dans mes fortifications. Nous verrons![2] I told him I did not believe these stories, which had no foundation beyond vague report.[3]

[He has lately placed detachments of his Guards in two advanced works of considerable strength, which were erected a few years ago to retard the approach to the fortifications of Porto Ferrajo in case of a siege.]

He asked me, with a kind of suspicious curiosity, whether I had met with any of the ships of war belonging to Louis XVIII., which have lately cruised off Corsica and Elba.[4] He repeated his invectives against the present governor of Corsica,[5] asserting that an assassin, sent by him,

[1] 'They will not find anything against me. At least, they will not find that I am at all compromised.'

[2] 'Before that, they will have to make a breach in my fortifications. We shall see!'

[3] 'I asked if he thought that it had been the intention of the Allies to have sent him to St. Helena? "Why," replied the Emperor, "it was much spoken of. However, Colonel Campbell denied it."'—O'Meara, *A Voice from St. Helena*, vol. i. p. 460.—ED.

[4] 'Two French frigates were sent from Toulon to cruise round the island of Elba, soon after my interview with M. Hyde de Neuville.'—*Note by Sir N. C.*

[5] 'Bonaparte had particular reason to dread Brulart. This Chouan chief had been one of the numbers who had laid down their arms on Napoleon assuming the Consulate, and who had been permitted to

was lately landed in Elba from one of these same French men-of-war; that the gendarmes were in search of him, and he would undoubtedly be apprehended; that the crews of these ships were attached to himself, and gave him intelligence of everything which passed in the squadron. He appeared much agitated, and impressed with a belief in the truth of what he stated. In reply, I assured him that I did not believe for a moment that the Bourbons were capable of sending emissaries to make attacks upon his life, and that if I became aware of any circumstance which could induce me to suspect anything of the kind, I would lose no time in acquainting him with it.

His brig returned here from Civita Vecchia last night, having touched by the way at Naples and Corsica. She failed in procuring any grain. This morning (January 15) she was driven on shore by a violent gale of wind, but by taking out her guns and stores she will be got off again without any material injury.

A sloop of war belonging to Murat anchored here yesterday, having on board a Princess of Saxe-Gotha. This ship left Genoa ten days ago, bound for Naples, and it is said that she will proceed from this to Leghorn, to repair some damages. I can only consider this as a pretext to cover some other intention, as the wind is now favourable for Naples, and the distance to the latter place so little beyond that to Leghorn.

February.—In my last interview with Napoleon (Feb. 2) he was unusually dull and reserved; but from that manner

reside at Paris. A friend of Brulart, still more obnoxious than himself, was desirous of being permitted to return from England, to which he had emigrated. He applied to Napoleon through Brulart, who was directed by the Emperor to encourage his friend to come over. Immediately on his landing in France he was seized and executed. Brulart fled to England in grief and rage, at being made the means of decoying his friend to death. In the height of his resentment, he wrote to Napoleon, threatening him with death by his hand. The recollection of this menace alarmed Bonaparte, when he found Brulart so near him as Corsica.'—Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, ch. lxxxii., *note*.—ED.

wearing off by degrees, it afterwards appeared to me as if it had been studied.

He goes less abroad than before, and appears much more tenacious of his dignity in exterior show and form. He never takes exercise, excepting in a carriage drawn by four horses, and accompanied by Generals Bertrand or Drouot, who sit uncovered, whatever may be the state of the weather, while passing through the town and fortifications.

For some time past Napoleon has suspended his improvements as regards roads and the finishing of his country residence. This is, I think, on account of the expense. Some of the roads, as well as a bridge built entirely for his own use, and unconnected with the public, have yet, by his order, been paid for entirely by the inhabitants.

A Council of State was lately held at Porto Ferrajo, to determine whether the town-house (*hôtel de ville*) can be sold for his private emolument; but as the opinions were divided, the project has not yet been carried into execution.

Some time since, I recommended to Lord Castlereagh M. Ricci, who was formerly British Vice-consul at Longono, whilst that port belonged to the King of Naples, as a person very fit for the appointment of vice-consul in this island. As it was very desirable that some one should in the interim represent this character, in order to send out pilots, and afford other assistance to British men-of-war or trading vessels which might touch here, I took it upon myself to give M. Ricci a letter of recommendation, requesting all captains who might enter to consider him in such a capacity, so long as the appointment might be vacant; to call upon him for every necessary aid and protection, and to pay him the usual trifling fees. I informed General Bertrand of the circumstances of the case, stating that although no exequatur or formal acknowledgment of his appointment could be asked for, or was expected for

the present, yet that I requested he might tacitly be accepted in that office. This was agreed to. Soon afterwards, in consequence of his informing me that the priest and some other of the inhabitants of Capolini—who were then in revolt on account of the contributions—had made use of very strong language with reference to Napoleon, and had requested his interference, I cautioned him against any such communications, and furnished him with written instructions for his guidance.

Upon my return here lately from Leghorn, after a short absence, M. Ricci informed me that he had been called upon by the governor to state the nature of his appointment, and was informed that my instructions, of which he gave a copy, were not official, and therefore he could not be considered as consul until he had received his formal commission from London.

When speaking to me on the subject, General Bertrand did not say that M. Ricci would be prevented from acting as consul, but that it was necessary for him to receive a commission as such from the British Government before he could be recognised in any manner. At the same time, he acknowledged that M. Ricci's character was highly respectable, and that he had not committed any act which could justly give offence.

I cannot precisely account for this sudden and apparently useless stir about M. Ricci's powers, unless it were from disappointment at finding that he had not received any commission from the British Government, as had been reported, and in which it is possible that Napoleon expected his own titles might have been inserted. Or it might be to intimidate him from giving me information of what passes in the island, and to authorise, perhaps, a sudden seizure of his papers, after having deprived him by the commandant's letter of that protection which might be understood to attach to his public character, or to resent his interference with regard to vessels which frequent this

island under British colours, without being in reality entitled to them. He has also taken up the case of a British vessel which was lately wrecked on the island of Pia Nosa.

If any personal insult be hereafter offered to M. Ricci (which has never yet been the case, but, so far from it, he has always been assisted hitherto in the execution of his duties), such as I have supposed, it will be a proof of the existence of some improper and guilty connection, in regard to which Napoleon is anxious to ascertain how far my knowledge extends. Nothing injurious to M. Ricci could possibly be discovered, as I have invariably directed him, since my first arrival, neither to ask nor speak in any way which could be considered hostile or exceptionable, confining himself entirely to his duties, and to giving me information.

However, I have again told M. Ricci to be very careful to give no cause for suspicion, either by indiscreet language or by holding any communication with the discontented people at Capolini; nor to keep by him any paper which can possibly be made a charge against him as one of Napoleon's subjects. For at present they had deprived him of the inviolability which belonged to his public character, and therefore he must be very circumspect not to put himself in their power, nor to retain any documents which might be suddenly seized, and might compromise him. At the same time he was to be particularly on the alert, to give me constant information; and if anything extraordinary occurred while I was absent, not to consider expense, but to come off instantly himself and report the matter both to me at Leghorn and to the British Minister at Florence.

The letter written to M. Ricci by the Governor was noticed by me in conversation with General Bertrand, in order to make them feel their responsibility in case of any indecorous proceedings towards him, and looking upon it

also as a want of delicacy and politeness towards myself. Their chief motive, I suspected, arose from a wish to disgust me, and induce me not to remain in the island. I often reflect whether this is really from some improper projects going on, or merely because Napoleon has appeared to those about him, and to all persons in Italy, to be a sort of prisoner of England under my charge.

Notwithstanding that the licence of Genoese vessels to trade with British colours, formerly granted by Admiral Lord Exmouth and Mr. Fitzgerald, acting consul at Genoa, has been withdrawn for several months, this island is frequented by small feluccas and other boats, which carry British colours but are certainly not British. Some of them possess these licences renewed by a person signing himself R. Waller, British Proconsul at Naples. Others are originally granted by the same person, with every appearance of irregularity, although bearing the British arms and seal. Some, too, are renewed by a person signing himself Joseph Towies, Proconsul, and dated at Castellamare, in the Bay of Naples. Most of these vessels come in here for shelter in the course of their voyages from Naples along the coast, so that it appears to be an expedient of Murat's for giving to the Neapolitan trade the security of the British flag. M. Ricci, who was desirous to obtain further particulars on the subject, has been refused access to the register of the harbour-master.

A British trading-vessel of considerable size was lately wrecked upon the island of Pia Nosa, where there is a detachment of Napoleon's troops. The master of the wreck has presented a petition to M. Ricci, setting forth that the commandant demands a daily sum for protection, and also a proportion of the cargo as salvage for Napoleon. This petition has been transmitted to General Drouot as governor of Elba, by M. Ricci, but as yet no answer has been received.

In the channel of Piombino, which is from four to five

miles in width between the north-east point of Elba and the nearest part of Italy, there is a small rock called Palmayola, situated about one mile from Elba, and rather more than three miles from the town of Piombino. There is a surface of not many square yards upon its summit. During the late war two guns and a howitzer were placed upon it by the French, to annoy the British men-of-war. These guns were left there. No possession of this rock was given to Napoleon, but he always spoke of it as being an appendage of Elba, no less than Pia Nosa. He has lately sent a few soldiers there. This can only be for one of two motives —either to apprehend any of his men who might desert, and possibly touch there, or to hold secret communication personally or through others with anyone who may come over from Italy. I mentioned this circumstance to General Bertrand as having attracted observation in Italy. He did not attempt to explain the matter in any way, but treated it quite lightly.

Without attaching too much importance to this rock, or the facts in connection with it, it is worthy of remark that there is another island, without any inhabitants, called Monte Christo, south of Elba, and not double the distance of Pia Nosa, to which Napoleon's fancy or projects may also lead him, and others at similar distances again to the southward, approaching the coasts of Rome and Naples. So that his absence from Elba could be less easily known, while any pretext remained for quitting it. He has paid three visits to Pia Nosa since his arrival here, and before the winter set in. His brig has been repaired of the damages sustained by running aground last month, and she is again ready for sea. It is given out that she will proceed to Longono, to convey here the stores of that fort —an operation in which another of his vessels has been employed for some time. The officer who commanded the brig when she was driven on shore has been discharged, on the plea of incapacity and peculation. But some per-

sons say that Napoleon suspects him of a secret understanding with the existing Government of France, and of a wish to destroy the brig. His successor is M. Chauslard, capitaine de frégate, who came here from Toulon a few months ago.

The ships of the French squadron are sometimes seen near this island. There is a brig and a schooner under the immediate orders of the Governor of Corsica, and two frigates from Toulon. In my last conversation with Napoleon, when the subject of these ships was mentioned, he did not seem so irritated or apprehensive as at first.

Quarters are provided for twelve men in each of the villages nearest to Corsica; but whether this circumstance is in order to prevent the Corsican soldiers from deserting, (many of them have gone off lately), or as a blind to draw off attention from Porto Ferrajo, it is impossible to say. As usual, this arrangement has been accompanied by a report, purposely circulated to cause a stir, 'that a very great personage is expected to disembark there shortly.'

Feb. 14.—To-day there was a review of the Corsican battalion, when it was notified to them, that all who were desirous of quitting Napoleon's service should declare it, and discharges would be given to them. None came forward; so far from it, that the men generally called out, 'Vive Napoléon!' This probably arose from the fear of being stripped of their uniform, and sent away without any clothing, for there have been frequent desertions of late.

Feb. 15.—M. Litta, whose conversation with Napoleon I have before related, went lately from this to Naples.

Similar mysterious adventurers and disaffected characters continually arrive here from France and Italy, and then proceed on to Naples, giving out that they are disappointed in their hopes of employment by Napoleon, and that they expect to realise them with Murat.

One of the most remarkable of these characters, who

lately fell under my observation here, was a M. Theologue, a Greek, said to have come here from Paris. He is much attached to Napoleon, and has been greatly employed by him in the affairs of Turkey and Persia. He left this for Naples about ten days ago.

A person, who calls himself Pietro St. Ernest, has arrived here under the guise of a sailor from the Bay of Spezzia. The commandant de place, the commissary of police, and other officials, have been with him, and have ordered him not to be disturbed.

Madame Bertrand gives out that M. Talliade is going at once to Paris. He belonged formerly to the French Marine, and is married to a native of Elba.

M. Kundtzow, a Norwegian gentleman, was presented to Napoleon lately. His first question was, 'Are you a Norwegian?' next, 'What is the population of Norway?' Mr. K. answered, 'Two millions, Sire.' 'One million eight hundred thousand,' said Napoleon immediately. Some of Napoleon's admirers will say in this, as in so many other instances, that it shows wonderful knowledge and minutely correct information—unless indeed he had referred to his library to prepare himself for the interview!

The Adjudant de place of Longono—an Italian named Bellucci—has lately returned from Naples, whither he went some months ago. He speaks openly of Murat's preparations for war, and states that the fortress of Gaeta has been provided with stores, as if for a siege.

It is scarcely possible to convey an idea of Porto Ferrajo, which is like the area of a great barrack, being occupied by military, gendarmes, police officers of all descriptions, dependants of the court, servants, and adventurers—all connected with Napoleon, and holding some place of honour or emolument in subservience to him. The harbour is constantly filled with vessels from all parts of Italy, bringing over almost hourly supplies of provisions

for this great increase of population, as the island itself furnishes nothing but wine. Vessels, too, of all nations frequently anchor here, from motives of curiosity and speculation, or detained by contrary winds.

I have before alluded to the claim made by the Commandant of Pia Nosa to a part of the wreck of a British vessel cast away there. This he stated to be by Napoleon's order, and I have every reason to believe it was so. This claim, however, has now been withdrawn, or rather is postponed for future reference to the owners at Leghorn, in consequence of the master's petition to M. Ricci and my interference. Napoleon's habits of unprincipled rapacity appear not to have been as yet forgotten.

In a conversation which I had with General Bertrand, I perceived that my mediation in support of these unfortunate persons was not relished by Napoleon, as well as a request which I had made to be permitted to visit Palmayola, in order to ascertain its exact position and extent.

General Bertrand expressed his feelings in very strong terms; said that the Emperor and all of them were under great obligations for all the facilities afforded by me as the British Commissioner, and were very happy at my prolonging my stay; that they wished to show me every attention (*bienséance*); that I must know all the reports about Palmayola were absurd. M. Ricci, he added, could not be considered as British Vice-consul without holding a commission as such. There could be no treason or injury to the British Government in a few small vessels arriving there from Genoa or Naples, although they might perhaps carry the British flag. The Emperor lived quietly in his retreat, and therefore considered all this as meddling (*tracassant*)! I told him this was a strong expression; that, to be sure, I was not accredited, and therefore had no right to interfere in these matters, holding no ostensible situation excepting that of Commissioner, which had been

prolonged there originally for their advantage and at their request. Now, however, it was my duty to notify to him, that neither Pia Nosa nor Palmayola had been given over to the possession of Napoleon, and that I should report to the British Government what had passed in regard to the points now under discussion. Our conversation was loud and warm; but however disagreeable the prolongation of my stay might be under such circumstances, I resolved to remain, being in daily expectation of the Congress terminating.

On February 16, I quitted Elba in H.M.S. 'Partridge' (Napoleon's schooner, 'L'Étoile,' commanded by Captain Richon, sailed out of Porto Ferrajo with us, supposed to be bound for Longono), upon a short excursion to the Continent for my health, having agreed to meet Captain Adye at Leghorn, in ten days, in order to return. I was anxious also to consult some medical man at Florence on account of the increasing deafness, supposed to arise from my wounds, with which I have been lately affected. Captain Adye promised to cruise round the island during my absence, as well as to visit Palmayola for my information. His doing so, I thought, would excite less suspicion and attention on Napoleon's part.

My despatch to Lord Castlereagh [No. 43], under date February 15, was delivered by me to Lord Burghersh on my arrival at Florence. It was read by Mr. Cooke, Under-Secretary of State, who had just come from Vienna. He seemed to think my uneasiness with respect to Napoleon quite unnecessary, and at Lord Burghersh's table on the same day said, 'When you return to Elba, you may tell Bonaparte that he is quite forgotten in Europe; no one thinks of him now.'

Before leaving Florence, when I told Mr. Cooke that of course Napoleon would ask me many questions as to the Congress upon my return, and that I should be glad if he could give me any information which might be particularly

interesting with regard to his money, Marie-Louise, Parma, &c., he very sarcastically replied, 'You may tell him that everything is amicably settled at Vienna; that he has no chance; that the Sovereigns will not quarrel. *Nobody thinks of him at all. He is quite forgotten—as much as if he had never existed!*'

I did feel very uneasy at the position of Napoleon and the seeming inconsistencies of his conduct; but, after Mr. Cooke's remarks, I began to fancy that my near view of him and of the state of Elba had induced me to exaggerate circumstances. I had thought it probable that he was preparing to desert to Murat, in case the latter should commence operations against the Allies, and that he was suspicious of an attempt to seize his person before these were fairly begun.

I had written to Captain Adye at Leghorn, to say, that as I knew it was his intention to go over to Elba on February 22, and from thence shortly after to Genoa, to complete his provisions, I feared it would be too long an absence for me from Elba to wait his return, and therefore requested he would land me there previously to his going to Genoa.

In answer to this, Captain Adye wrote me that he should go to sea on the afternoon of Wednesday the 22nd, and return to Leghorn for me by Sunday the 26th.[6]

[6] 'Capt. Adye's report of subsequent events was as follows:

'I anchored in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo about midnight, on Thursday the 23rd, and landed there about nine o'clock A.M. on Friday the 24th. After seeing General Bertrand, and ascertaining that Napoleon Bonaparte was still on the island, I put to sea again about two o'clock in the afternoon, with the intention of inspecting the island of Palmayola, agreeably to the wishes of Sir Neil Campbell; but as the wind was light and variable, I did not get near enough before dark to accomplish my wishes, and therefore lay to in the passage of Piombino the whole of the night of Friday the 24th. The next morning, February 25th, I went towards the island, but was refused a landing, in consequence of the order of Bonaparte not to allow any person to visit it, although both Sir Neil Campbell and myself had been assured by General Bertrand that no opposition should ever be made to our landing.

'At daylight on Friday morning,

I returned from Florence to Leghorn February 25, and on the 26th, while anxiously waiting for Captain Adye, the 'Partridge' being becalmed for several hours off the harbour, and after my suspicions had been increased by information which General Spannochi, M. Mariotti, and I myself had obtained, I wrote a despatch (No. 44.) to Lord Castlereagh, and also forwarded by estafette to Florence a letter for Lord Burghersh. Another letter, containing a similar outline of information received up to midday, I

the 24th, Bonaparte's brig of war, "L'Inconstant," put to sea, and shaped her course to the northward. The captain of the port, on his coming on board, told us she was bound to Leghorn to repair her damages, in consequence of having been on shore twice. About nine o'clock A.M. she was perceived to tack, and for about a quarter of an hour her head was towards Porto Ferrajo. She soon afterwards wore round, and appeared to have little wind, but about noon was lost sight of, close in with the Italian shore.

'On my getting into the passage of Piombino about five o'clock P.M., I was rather surprised to see the brig with the bombard "L'Étoile" and "La Caroline" (a row-boat, which I had seen leave Porto Ferrajo about an hour after noon) coming down from the southward, as if from Longono. I afterwards saw them round Cape Bianco, and haul in to Porto Ferrajo.

'On Saturday morning, the 25th, as before mentioned, I made the attempt to land at Palmayola. Soon after one o'clock P.M. (having light winds from the NE.), I made sail in the direction of Leghorn, and about six P.M. plainly saw the brig "L'Inconstant" at anchor in Porto Ferrajo. Shortly after noon on Sunday the 26th, I anchored in Leghorn Roads, and about two P.M. saw Sir Neil Campbell, who embarked with me about eight P.M. that evening. Had there been a breath of wind, I should have instantly sailed, as Sir Neil Campbell, from information which he had gained, was most anxious to ascertain the movements of Napoleon. About four A.M. on Monday the 27th, a light breeze sprang up from the eastward. I instantly weighed and made sail, but the wind was so light and variable that at the close of the day, we had not got the length of Capraja.

'On Tuesday morning the 28th, at daylight, from having had a light breeze during the night, we had advanced to about six or seven miles from Porto Ferrajo. At eight A.M., having little or no wind, and Sir Neil Campbell being very anxious, he went in one of the ship's boats into the harbour, agreeing with me that if he did not return in two hours, it should be considered as a proof of his being detained, and that I was accordingly to despatch an officer from Piombino to Lord Burghersh at Florence. Sir Neil Campbell returned in about an hour and a half, with the information that Bonaparte had left the island with his generals, and all his French, Polish, and Corsican troops.'

left with Mr. Falconer, the British Consul at Leghorn, to be sent by post the next day.

Although mixed up with some other very absurd, contradictory, and confused reports, M. Ricci's letter to me,[7]

[7] *Memorandum of information from Elba received at Leghorn February* 26, 1815:

'1. Upon the night of the 16th arrived at Longono, from Porto Ferrajo, a Captain Raimondo, accompanied by an orderly dragoon, with a letter from General Drouot to the Commandant, recommending him. He immediately embarked on board a small vessel belonging to Marciana, commanded by one Nanzi (which was supposed, before his arrival, to have been destined for Civita Vecchia), and sailed.

'2. Napoleon's vessel, "L'Étoile," commanded by Richon, went upon the 16th from Porto Ferrajo to Longono, and took on board military stores and salt meat, with which she returned there.

'3. Upon the 20th two of the vessels usually employed in conveying iron over from Rio to the Continent, sailed from thence to Porto Ferrajo in ballast only.

'4. The "Inconstant" brig, with three other vessels, was in Porto Ferrajo upon the 21st inst., and it was suspected that all of them had on board military stores and salt provisions. It was understood that the voyage of the "Inconstant" was to Naples, and that it would take place in a few days.

'5. Upon the 16th, General Bartolozzi inspected the detachment of the Corsicans at Longono, made some promotions of non-commissioned officers, and was busy with his interior organisation.

'6. Upon the 17th, M. Colonna arrived at Longono from Porto Ferrajo, and was expected to embark for Naples, to prepare a residence there for Napoleon's mother.

'7. A Greek from Cephalonia, named Demetrian Calamalli, was at Elba for ten days, and presented Napoleon with a work of his own composition, after which he left the place.

'8. The police has now been more active and suspicious than ever. Detailed instructions are given to the master of the port, health-officer, &c., which are said to have been drawn up by Bonaparte.

'9. It is reported that the horses of the Polish Lancers are to be brought up from Pia Nosa immediately, and that the saddlers are busily employed. The troops are full of expectation of some great event. Innumerable reports are on foot, so that it is impossible to trace the origin of any. It is said that Napoleon was out in a boat all night; that some days ago his mother had an interview of two hours with Napoleon, during which a very loud discussion took place. She was observed to be much affected on separating from him to return to her own house, and gave orders for immediately packing up part of her effects.

'10. Some time ago a contract was made with a M. Rebuffat, of Longono, to supply a considerable quantity of grain, which is ground into flour at Rio, and sent to Porto Ferrajo, where it is put in store.

'11. It is said that a Genoese merchant has lately sent part of the brass guns, dismounted at Longono, to the Barbary States, where they were sold.

'12. It was reported lately in

dated February 18, contained matter of such nature as a to excite the gravest suspicion. And on comparing it with information in the possession of M. Mariotti, the French consul, and General Spannochi, the governor of Leghorn, also received from their agents at Elba, it became evident that Napoleon was on the point of embarking a military force with stores and provisions. General Spannochi, indeed, is a feeble old man, who knows little and believes less. But M. Mariotti's reports have always been so superior to those of M. Ricci, that I have constantly had recourse to them as the basis on which to found my personal observations; and now, after being employed together the whole of the morning in tracing the connection of the various suspicious circumstances respecting Napoleon and his adherents at Elba (which we have been in the habit of doing reciprocally, in order to combine and check them), we felt persuaded that he himself was prepared to quit the island immediately with his troops. I have been in habits of very friendly communication with M. Mariotti, and have perfectly coincided in every observation and measure, always looking with anxiety towards Naples on account of

Elba, that one of Napoleon's officers had employed a person to purchase a vessel of eighty or ninety tons, and that the money was deposited in readiness.

'13. I ascertained that, upon the 23rd inst., four or five large cases belonging to the Princess Pauline were disembarked at Leghorn, from Elba. A person of credibility told me that he saw them landed, and the person to whom they were consigned (M. George Bastacchi, a merchant there and a Greek) told him that, about a week before, he had received a letter from M. Sisca, a merchant of Porto Ferrajo, to inform him that these cases were embarked and insured for the sum of 5,000 dollars, that they contained the Princess Pauline's plate, and that they were sent there to be sold, but that the keys and instructions would be sent to him.

'14. The same person was informed upon February 26,' by M. Constantin, that he had lately received orders from M. Sisca to freight a British vessel for four months certain, and the option of two more. A contract was made for one of 250 tons about a week ago, but, upon February 25, directions were sent to him not to execute the order.

'15. A magistrate and a brigadier of gendarmerie lately left Corsica, and there is reason to know that they have gone over to Elba.

its vicinity. My access to Napoleon has for some time past been so much less than at first, as to afford me very little opportunity of personal observation; and besides, the etiquette of a sovereign and court were studiously adhered to. So that during the last few months our intercourse has been continued under different feelings upon both sides, although no expression to that effect was ever pronounced by either of us; and when he did grant me an interview he always received me with the same apparent courtesy as formerly. Sometimes I could only ascribe his reserve to a dislike of his appearing in the eyes of the world as a prisoner, and to my stay being prolonged beyond the period which he perhaps expected, owing to the duration of the Congress. Or possibly he had projects and communications of an improper nature, which he was afraid might be discovered by me, in case of my associating with his mother and sister. The latter, I knew, desired such intimacy, and had taken several steps for that purpose, in which she was counteracted.

Whatever the fact might be—however disagreeable this situation had become for some months past, acting upon mere conjecture and suspicion—with great responsibility in case of Napoleon committing any eccentricity—remaining at Elba as an obnoxious person, upon a kind of sufferance, and gradually slighted by inattentions—I nevertheless considered it my bounden duty not to break off the ties which still existed, in hopes of being useful to my sovereign and his ministers, who had been pleased to honour me with this confidential appointment. Nor was it in my power to quit my post, until the sanction of my employers should be communicated to me. So that I have looked forward for a long time, with impatience and daily anxiety, to the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna, as the period which would produce an order to that effect from Lord Castlereagh and close my mission.

By absenting myself occasionally from the island, I had

a pretext for requesting an interview both before my departure and again upon my return, and this became latterly my only opportunity of conversing with Napoleon.

In one of my former despatches to Lord Castlereagh, I observed that 'I did not think Napoleon would ever commit himself, unless some very favourable opportunity occurred in France or Italy; but that if the payments promised to him at the time of abdication were withheld, and the want of money pressed upon him, I considered him capable of any desperate step, even that of crossing over to Piombino and landing there with his Guards.' There is a probability that, about this time, the decision of the Congress as regards Murat may have become known both to him and to Napoleon. I think it almost certain that Napoleon is prepared to join Murat, in the event of the latter throwing down the gauntlet in defiance of the sovereigns of Europe.

In case of Napoleon quitting Elba, and any of his vessels being discovered with troops on board, military stores, or provisions, I shall request Captain Adye—who has instructions from Admiral Penrose to afford me every facility in the objects of my mission, and who has assisted me very cordially upon every occasion — to intercept, and, in case of their offering the slightest resistance, to destroy them. I am confident that both he and I will be justified by our sovereign, our country, and the world, in proceeding to any extremity upon our own responsibility in a case of so extraordinary a nature. I shall feel that in the execution of my duty, and with the military means which I can procure, the lives of this restless man and his misguided associates and followers are not to be put in competition with the fate of thousands and the tranquillity of the world.

At midday, Feb. 26, the 'Partridge' came to an anchor. Immediately after Captain Adye landed at Leghorn in the afternoon, I inquired of him, with abrupt anxiety, whether

anything extraordinary had occurred at Elba, and when he left it? He smiled at my anxiety, and replied, 'I neither saw nor heard of anything extraordinary. Upon the 24th I was on shore for some time. In the forenoon Bonaparte was there in good health. I visited General Bertrand. I walked about the town of Porto Ferrajo, and saw the soldiers of the Imperial Guard all busy in carrying earth and in planting trees in front of their barracks. Upon the afternoon of the 24th I again sailed out of Porto Ferrajo. Upon the forenoon of the 25th I was off Palmayola, and went in my boat to the landing-place of that rock, but the guard refused to let me go on shore. Everything was quiet at Elba. Last night at sunset I could see the topmasts of the "Inconstant" within the harbour of Porto Ferrajo!' I then informed Captain Adye of the suspicious information which M. Mariotti and I had obtained; that some chests of plate, belonging to the Princess Pauline, had been secretly sent to Leghorn; that I had succeeded in tracing a proposal lately made from Elba to a person at Leghorn, to hire a British merchant-vessel; that the Polish Lancers had been employed in mending their saddles, &c. I requested Captain Adye to endeavour to recollect whether there was any circumstance which could *now* bear a suspicious construction, although it might not at the time have attracted his notice. He then recollected that at daylight, on the morning of the 24th, the 'Inconstant' left Porto Ferrajo, and in the forenoon was seen at a great distance to the northward, off the coast of Italy. It was said on shore that she had sailed for Leghorn or Genoa, to undergo repairs for the damage received when driven on shore at Porto Ferrajo, January 12. In the course of the day the 'Inconstant' was observed by some of the officers of the 'Partridge' to return southward, keeping close to the coast of Italy. In the afternoon, when the 'Partridge' got out of the harbour and turned into the channel of Piombino, she perceived the 'Inconstant'

with one of Napoleon's smaller armed vessels and one of the island mine-vessels, which passed her and entered the harbour. Captain Adye then recollected that the smaller vessel had been hastily manned, and left the pier while he was on shore at Porto Ferrajo in the forenoon; but he paid no attention to it at the time, nor could he afterwards assign any particular motive for it. It is probable that the latter vessel was sent to communicate with the 'Inconstant,' in consequence of the arrival of the 'Partridge' occasioning some alarm in the mind of Napoleon that his project of quitting Elba was discovered.

General Bertrand inquired particularly of Captain Adye respecting my movements and probable return, which were frankly communicated to him.

At 8 P.M. went on board the 'Partridge,' and at once sat down to write Lord Burghersh hastily the information I had obtained from Captain Adye.

While on shore at Porto Ferrajo upon the forenoon of the 24th, Captain Adye did not see Napoleon. But General Bertrand's wife told him that she had walked with him in the garden on the preceding day, and that he had a bad cold. I think this must be true, so far as relates to his being there on that day; and that Madame Bertrand would neither be made the tool of covering his departure, nor is she capable of dissembling her uneasiness, if any such circumstance had taken place.

If I may venture an opinion upon Napoleon's plans, I think he will leave General Bertrand to defend Porto Ferrajo, as he has a wife and several children with him to whom he is extremely attached, and probably Napoleon will not communicate his intention to him until the last moment. But he will certainly take with him General Cambronne (a desperate, uneducated ruffian, who was a drummer with him in Egypt) and those of his Guards upon whom he can most depend, embarking them on board 'L'Inconstant,' 'L'Étoile,' and two other vessels, while he

himself probably, with General Drouot, will precede them in 'La Caroline.' The place of disembarkation will be Gaëta, on the coast of Naples, or Civita Vecchia, if Murat has previously advanced to Rome. For I cannot persuade myself that Napoleon will commit himself openly, until the former has moved forward with his troops; but it is very likely they will endeavour to have an interview immediately at Pia Nosa or Monte Christo. To divert attention from the real point, it is possible that General Bartolozzi may at the same time disembark in Corsica with some of the Corsican battalion.

As there is a line-of-battle ship, a frigate, and a brig at Genoa, I have requested Lord Burghersh to transmit the last accounts immediately to Captain Thomson, R.N., the senior officer there, in hopes that he will at once detach one of the ships under his command either to watch or pursue Napoleon, as the case may be, as well as to be ready to convey information of occurrences. If I find that Napoleon is really as criminal as appears at present, I shall propose to take immediate possession of Palmayola and Pia Nosa, so as to leave him no pretext for quitting Elba, and being absent without its being known where he is.

As the first object is to ascertain whether Napoleon is still there, I shall, in the usual manner, request an interview, after which I shall remain almost entirely on board ship, in order to watch and examine all vessels which approach the island, and as soon as possible to communicate with some of the French men-of-war.

Captain Adye does not intend to anchor in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo, for it is probable that Napoleon would seize the 'Partridge' when he puts his plan in execution, as well as my person, in order to prevent intelligence being sent.

At 9 P.M. I went down below, and thought the brig was

getting up her anchor. But as it turned out, on account of there being no wind, she did not leave the harbour until early this morning (the 27th). In the course of the day we saw the French brig 'Zéphyr.'[8]

February 28.—Being becalmed several miles north of Porto Ferrajo, I went on shore in a boat of Captain Adye's, at 10 A.M., in order to ascertain if Napoleon was still there, and then transmit whatever information I could collect to His Majesty's Minister at Florence, acting afterwards according to circumstances. We agreed that the ship should not enter the harbour, and that if I did not return in two hours it would be a sure proof of my detention; in which case Captain Adye would immediately despatch an express from Piombino to Lord Burghersh with this information and all he could obtain otherwise of the state of affairs.

Upon entering the harbour I immediately perceived, from the appearance of the National Guards as sentries on the fortifications, that the French Guards were no longer there; and, on proceeding alongside of the health-office, was informed, in answer to my inquiries after General Bertrand, that he had gone to Palmayola.

Expecting to be detained, I thought to push off immediately, but, after a moment's deliberation, considered that this would not be sufficiently satisfactory to others, although it might be so to myself, and therefore resolved upon the risk (or rather sacrifice more probably), as Captain Adye would be able to transmit the information required.

Accordingly I landed, and, proceeding towards General Bertrand's house, was met by Mr. Grattan, an English gentleman, who had been conveyed to the island by Captain Adye on the 24th inst. He informed me that, about 3 P.M. on the 26th, there was a sudden bustle among the troops and inhabitants, and a parade of the Corsican battalion took

[8] We must have been nearly in sight of Napoleon's flotilla, as the 'Zéphyr,' it is since known, spoke the 'Inconstant.'—*Note by Sir N. C.*

place. Soon afterwards the gates were shut. His servant, who had a brother a lieutenant in the Corsican battalion, told him that the Emperor and the whole of the troops were about to embark for Italy. Some spoke of Naples and Milan, others of Antibes and France. He applied several times to see General Bertrand, but could not obtain access to him under various pretexts.

At 7 P.M. the troops marched out of the fortifications without music or noise, and embarked at the health-office in feluccas and boats which were alongside, a part of them being transported to the brig which lay in the harbour. At 9 P.M. Napoleon with General Bertrand passed out in the Princess Pauline's small carriage drawn by four horses, embarked at the health-office in a boat, and went on board of the brig 'L'Inconstant.' Immediately afterwards the whole flotilla got under weigh with sweeps and boats, the soldiers crying out 'Vive l'Empereur!'

Mr. Grattan says that his curiosity tempted him to hire a boat to go alongside of the brig, as he could scarcely believe his eyes and senses. There he saw Napoleon in his grey surtout and round hat pacing the quarter-deck of the brig, which, as well as all the other vessels, was crowded with troops. One of his boatmen called out that there was an Englishman on board; upon which he was questioned by an officer from the poop in English, what was his business there, and who he was? He told who he was, and said that he had come merely to see the Emperor; upon which he was ordered to go away. This he immediately complied with, for he expected every moment to be fired at or seized.

Mr. Grattan informed me that, ever since their departure, there had been very little wind. Upon the preceding day, the 27th, they were still in sight till 2 or 3 P.M., a short distance north of the island of Capraja. I proceeded to General Bertrand's house in company with Mr. Grattan. There I found his wife alternately smiling and

expressing her anxiety. She told me that her husband had known nothing of Napoleon's intentions until the moment of his departure; that he had only a quarter of an hour given him to prepare his portmanteau; that she was not aware where they were going to, as they had spoken only of Pia Nosa. I thought that by moving her feelings something might be discovered, and therefore told her it was a most desperate step; that the whole of the project was known for some time; and that they must be already taken. She immediately asked me, with great earnestness, where was her husband, and what was become of him? Were they really taken? If so, she, as an Englishwoman, claimed my protection, as well as that of Lord Burghersh, the British Minister at Florence. I told her that I could not exactly say they were taken, but that they were so situated they could not escape, for there were British as well as French men-of-war all round them; that the squadron from Sicily with the Admiral were looking out for them between Elba and Gaëta. On this she became more relieved and quite collected; from which I concluded that her opinion of their destination was north, and not south, as I thought at first.

She told me that Napoleon had left M. Lapis [9] as gover-

[9] The following proclamation, in a strange handwriting, and very badly spelt, occurs among Sir Neil Campbell's papers:

[Traduction de l'Italien.]

'Le Général Lapis,

'Gouverneur de l'île d'Elbe, Chambellan de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, Directeur des Domaines et Biens extraordinaires de la Couronne.

'Habitants!

'Votre auguste Souverain, rappelé par la Divine Providence à son antique gloire, a dû abandonner son île. Il m'en a confié le commandement—le gouvernement à six des citoyens les plus distingués, et à votre attachement reconnu et à votre valeur la défense de la place et le maintien de bon ordre.

'"Je pars (a-t-il dit) de l'île d'Elbe. Je suis extrêmement satisfait de la conduite des habitants. Je leur confie la défense du pays auquel j'attache la plus grande importance. Je ne puis leur donner une preuve d'une plus grande confiance que de laisser après le départ des troupes ma mère et ma sœur sous leur garde. Les membres de la Junte et tous les habitants de l'île peuvent compter sur ma protection spéciale."

nor. (This gentleman, a native of Porto Ferrajo, had formerly been mayor before his arrival, and afterwards one of his chamberlains.) I proceeded to his house, but was directed to find him in the citadel, whither I went accordingly with the expectation of being detained. However, to intimidate him from so much responsibility, I told my servant who accompanied me to say that the whole would be *certainly taken!*

A Piedmontese surgeon, whom I had been in the habit of meeting at General Bertrand's, and who accompanied me, confirmed most distinctly all Mr. Grattan's information as to seeing the flotilla in the situation described, adding, further, that Napoleon had given M. Lapis the rank of general of brigade and the appointment of governor.

M. Lapis received me in his uniform as commandant of the National Guard, his doors being open, and a dozen of persons in the passage. I told him that 'I came to him as one of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers, who had accompanied Napoleon to Elba, in which character I had likewise prolonged my stay there. Therefore I requested to know from him in what position was I to consider him?' He said, 'As governor of the island of Elba.' 'Governor for whom?' I asked. 'For his sovereign.' 'What sovereign?' 'L'Empereur Napoléon.' I then said that 'I wished to inquire of him whether he would give up possession of the island to the British, or the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Allied Sovereigns?' He smiled and said, 'Certainly not; that he had the means of defending Porto Ferrajo until he re-

'Habitants, cette époque est la plus fortunée et la plus mémorable pour vous. De votre conduite dépend votre gloire et votre félicité perpétuelle. Si vous voulez acquérir l'une et l'autre, continuez à obéir aveuglément aux sages dispositions du gouvernement, que la Junte, les autorités et les fonctionnaires seront dans le cas de vous donner dans les circonstances actuelles. Vous serez heureux, habitants de l'île d'Elbe, si vous ne vous laissez pas séduire par les perfides conseils des ennemis de bon ordre.'

ceived orders from the Emperor.' I told him to recollect that he had taken upon himself the responsibility, and therefore that it only remained for me to notify to him that the island would now be considered in a state of blockade, speaking very audibly, on purpose that what I said might be heard by others.

After bowing to retire I advanced again, and told M. Lapis in a loud voice, that in order to prevent misery to the inhabitants individually throughout the island, it would be proper for him to announce the fact to them, and that they ought to hold no communication with the Continent. I acted in this manner in order to impress M. Lapis with a sense of responsibility, and prevent him from detaining me. I was also in hopes that the inhabitants would, for their own sakes, induce him to hold no more connection with Napoleon or Murat, and surrender the island to the Allies, perhaps even give intelligence of importance, and take some friendly step after my departure, as my time would not allow me to follow up this object.

In passing the house of Madame Mère and the Princess Pauline, I observed sentries of the National Guard at their door, while an officer and a Pole were walking together as if on duty. I told them that if Madame or the Princess had any letters to transmit to Leghorn, or would express any wishes which it might be in my power to execute, it would give me pleasure to serve them. While on my way to the boat, the Princess sent to request me to return. After being detained for a minute or more in the antechamber, I sent in to say that I was under the necessity of departing immediately, as the frigate would otherwise leave without me.

She then came out and made me sit down beside her, drawing her chair gradually still closer, as if she waited for me to make some *private* communication. I merely told her that as perhaps she might have some commands

for the Continent, I would willingly receive them. She asked me, with every appearance of anxiety, if I had nothing to say to her, and what I would advise her to do; said she had already written to her husband, Prince Borghese, who was now at Leghorn, and requested me to tell him that she wished to go to Rome immediately. I told her that my advice in the meantime would be to remain at Elba. She then went on to protest her ignorance of Napoleon's intended departure till the very last moment, and of his present destination; laid hold of my hand and pressed it to her heart, that I might feel how much she was agitated. However she did not appear to be so, and there was rather a smile upon her countenance. She inquired whether the Emperor had been taken? I told her I could not exactly say he was, but that there was every probability of it. During this conversation she dropped a hint of her belief in his destination being for France: upon which I smiled and said, 'O non! ce n'est pas si loin, c'est à Naples;' for I fancied (for the moment) she mentioned France purposely to deceive me.

Two or three minutes afterwards I took my leave, and proceeded to the boat without any opposition, accompanied by Mr. Grattan. He agreed, at my request, to proceed in a boat to Leghorn with my despatches. After going out of the harbour, I forced a fishing-boat to accompany us, in order to have the means of conveyance for him. At 3 P.M. he left the frigate, carrying with him my despatch for Lord Castlereagh, No. 46, which he was to convey immediately from Leghorn to Florence. I also gave him a copy to be forwarded from Leghorn, by a courier, to Colonel Sir John Dalrymple, commanding at Genoa, for his information and that of Captain Thomson, commanding the navy there. Copies were to be forwarded by the former to Paris, to London, and to Vienna.

At the same time M. Ricci, provisional vice-consul at

Elba, who came off in a boat, was to go to Piombino, in order to proceed direct from thence, by the horse-road of Sienna to Florence, carrying with him for Lord Burghersh my despatches to Lord Castlereagh, Nos. 45 and 46.

After fully deliberating with Captain Adye upon all the circumstances, and comparing the information of Mr. Grattan and M. Ricci in their own presence, we determined to proceed towards *Antibes* for the following reasons. (In so doing Captain Adye had the goodness to sacrifice his own opinion, which inclined to Naples, to mine.) There was always a probability of overtaking Napoleon and his flotilla, if he had gone in that direction; there was none if he had gone to Naples. The horses and guns, which he was said certainly to have embarked, could be of no use at Naples, but only an incumbrance; although, to be sure, it might be a mask to make one believe that he had not gone there, and he might afterwards have thrown them overboard.

Would he, however, also have incumbered himself with so many civil followers, and with all the Corsicans, if he was destined for Naples? He could not throw *them* overboard, and they could be of no importance as an additional force.

But, what was still stronger than all, would he lose the whole of the first night, and the following day, in going north instead of south, and so be obliged to retrace his route? Had he gone out during the day, he might do so to deceive until that night, but certainly not for so long a time (nearly twenty-four hours), incumbered with soldiers broiling in the sun, and with a dead calm, and every minute of the utmost consequence.

I think his destination is for the frontier of Piedmont next France, and that he will take possession of some strong place near Nice, or between that and Turin, dispersing his civil followers immediately over North Italy, of which he will proclaim the independence, raising the

disaffected there, while Murat does the same in the south.

This plan will be more reconcilable to the national feelings of his officers and men, and they will think it probably less hazardous than raising the standard of rebellion in France, where they would be considered traitors. General Drouot gave in his adhesion to the present dynasty of the Bourbons before quitting France, and I believe General Bertrand did the same.

No part of Napoleon's plan for quitting Elba could have increased my *general* suspicions of his possibly taking that step at some time or another, even had I been there from the 16th to the 26th, nor could have authorised me to report to the British Government any fact which could be considered as a certain proof of that intention. There would have been no positive criminality in any act previous to his embarkation of the troops and his actual departure, a period of six hours, during which time the gates of Porto Ferrajo were shut. He had been for months employed in dismantling the fortress of Longono, situated in the passage of Piombino, and in conveying the guns, ammunition, and provisions from thence to Porto Ferrajo in three of the vessels taken with him. Two of the others are feluccas from his mines at Rio, the arrival of which at Porto Ferrajo could not attract observation. Had His Majesty's ship 'Partridge.' been in the harbour on Sunday, February 26, she might have been detained. Captain Adye, the first lieutenant, and myself would probably have been invited to General Bertrand's house, where we sometimes dined, and we might have been easily arrested there, and thus made more subservient to the easier execution of his plan.

H.M.S. 'Partridge' was at anchor in Porto Ferrajo harbour upon the 24th, and Captain Adye went on shore during the day. He was also off the mouth of the harbour upon Saturday the 25th inst., and ascertained, for his own

information and mine, that the 'Inconstant' was there at anchor at 6 P.M. Thence he proceeded immediately to Leghorn, to bring me back to Porto Ferrajo, according to previous agreement made some days before.

M. Ricci, the person who gave me private information of a suspicious character, observed on the 25th that he was constantly followed by two gendarmes; but he had knowledge of his being watched for some time before. When he heard of the gates being shut upon the 26th, he wished to go over to Piombino with the information, but could not obtain a boat for any sum, as they were all under embargo.

For a few weeks previously to his departure, Napoleon employed people in planting trees upon the roads leading to Porto Ferrajo, and in forming an avenue near his house, also in making a garden close to the barracks of his Guards. When Captain Adye was on shore there on the 24th, there were about thirty soldiers busily employed in shaping beds and forming gravel walks in the garden; and they were probably employed all day on Saturday the 25th in finishing the work, in order to deceive the various spies who, he knew well, watched all his proceedings.

As to the immediate execution of Napoleon's project, I do not believe that any person in Elba, except General Drouot, knew of his intentions until the gates were actually shut upon the afternoon of the 26th.

I had long thought Napoleon so restless and unprincipled a person, that he would lose no opportunity of employing himself in war upon the Continent; and, particularly if pressed by want of money, or subjected to any humiliating treatment, that he was capable of any eccentric or desperate act. But all accounts from France, and the apparent tranquillity of the country, have induced me to judge that he has no chance of success there, and that he himself has despaired of every hope in that quarter. Neither did I think that he would commit himself openly

in Italy, until Murat had made some progress, and this would give sufficient time to secure his person, if at least it was wished to do so. For many months he has furnished a just pretext for this measure—has given ample cause for such a step, by his violation of the law of nations and breach of good faith, in sending officers clandestinely to Corsica and Italy to recruit soldiers; and therefore I no longer considered this to be an object which was sought for or intended on the part of either the French Government or the Allied Sovereigns.

With the free sovereignty of Elba, four armed vessels of his own, and seventeen belonging to the mines, which sailed in every direction, I knew well that Napoleon had it in his power to avail himself any day of these means of escape, without any chance of my preventing him, dependent as I was on the occasional calls of a man-of-war, which cruised between Civita Vecchia and Genoa, and the frequency of whose visits was subject entirely to the captain. In justice, however, to the four captains successively employed in this service, as well as to Admirals Lord Exmouth and Penrose, I must say that they entered liberally and cordially into my wishes and the objects of my mission.

What I considered as the surest means of security for Napoleon's person were the two frigates and some smaller vessels belonging to Louis XVIII. (none of them were to be seen either on the 27th or 28th), which were constantly cruising between Corsica, Capraja, and Leghorn; while I knew also that the French consul at Leghorn and the governor of Corsica had their respective spies over him.

At 7 P.M. spoke the British merchant-ship, 'Lady Ann,' Captain Segur, by whom I wrote to Mr. A'Court, minister in Sicily.

Napoleon's flotilla consists of seven sail; viz., 'L'Inconstant,' a brig, 18 guns and about 300 tons; 'L'Étoile,' a bombard, 80 tons and a few guns; 'La Caroline,' half-decked, 25 tons and 1 gun.

Four feluccas of 40 or 50 tons each.

There is also a French merchant-brig, of between 300 and 400 tons, which had anchored at Porto Ferrajo by accident, a few days before Napoleon's departure. He seized her, and put a guard on board to prevent its being known.

List of persons who embarked with Napoleon in Elba, February 26, 1814.

General Count Bertrand . . . .
General Count Drouot . . . . .
General Baron Cambronne . . . .
Adjutant-General (Colonel) Lebelle . . } Frenchmen.

Baron Germanowski, commanding the Poles.

Chevalier Fourreau, médecin, Frenchman.

M. Gatte, pharmacien, Frenchman; married, a few months ago, a Mdlle. Nenchi, whose father is a merchant at Leghorn.

M. Peyrouse, trésorier, Frenchman.

M. Deschamps
M. Baillon } fourriers de palais, Frenchmen.

M. Pons, administrateur des mines, both before and since the arrival of Napoleon in Elba, formerly chef de bataillon under Masséna, who, with Lacépède, the chancellor of the Legion of Honour, are his friends and patrons—a violent, intriguing fellow.

M. Talliade, formerly of the French Marine, and, until lately, commander of Napoleon's brig—married to a woman of Longono.

M. Chauslard, capitaine de frégate; lately appointed to command of 'Inconstant' brig.

M. Richon, of the French Marine, commanding the bombard 'L'Étoile.'

Colonel Socoski, a Pole; his wife is with the Princess Pauline.

Captain Roule, officier d'ordonnance, confidential officer about Napoleon's person; Frenchman.

M. Perez
M. Vantini } officiers d'ordonnance of Porto Ferrajo.

M. Phillidore, captain of the port at Porto Ferrajo; probably taken away by force, in order to return to Elba or Naples with the flotilla.

Captain Paoli, Corsican.

Captain of gendarmes.

These are all names of principal persons who accompanied Napoleon (excepting a few officers and men who were at Longono, Pia Nosa, and Palmayola, and who were too late to embark); every person, French and Italian, whether in the military or civil service, secretaries, servants, &c., went with him.

His whole force may be estimated as follows:—

Old Guard	600
Polish Lancers	100
Corsican Battalion	300
Gendarmes, mostly Italians and Corsicans	50
	1050
Civilians, including servants	100

General Bartolozzi, formerly commandant de la place, was left behind at Porto Ferrajo.

Wednesday, March 1.—About 2 A.M. a light was discovered. We beat to quarters, as it was reported that there were several sail. We thought our sanguine hopes were accomplished, but upon nearing and hailing, found it was a French frigate. Captain Adye and I went on board of her. It proved to be the 'Fleur-de-Lys,' commanded by Captain Chevalier de Garat, belonging to the station of Corsica and Elba, and now five leagues north of Cape Corse. He did not know of Napoleon's escape till we informed him, although his only duty was to prevent it, and he ought to have been off Elba as a watch, unless he was accessory to it.

[It is fair to state, that on Marshal Masséna hoisting the tricolour flag at Toulon, in the course of the month of March following, the Chevalier de Garat was at once dismissed from his ship, but again restored to his rank by the Bourbons on August 1.

In a formal defence of his conduct, addressed to the Comte d'Iancourt, minister of Marine, and dated August 28, 1815, he wrote as follows:—

'Le commandant de cette frégate n'entrera dans aucun

détail à présent sur la navigation la plus pénible et peut-être la plus dangereuse, pendant le plus rude des hivers, depuis le 2e janvier dernier.

'Il passe de suite à l'époque du 26e février, jour du départ de Bonaparte de Porto Ferrajo. Le Colonel Campbell a rapporté au commandant que "L'Usurpateur" sortit de ce port par une brise très-faible, qui devint bientôt un calme plat à huit heures du soir.

'La "Fleur-de-Lys" avait eu, le même jour à neuf heures du matin, connaissance de la frégate la "Melpomène," dans le sud et le S.S.O. de l'île Capraia; et comme depuis plus de dix jours elle ne l'avait pas aperçue, elle dirigeait sa route vers elle, lorsque tout à coup on découvrit plusieurs voiles doublant l'île de la Gorgone avec un vent long et frais.

'La "Fleur-de-Lys" vira aussitôt de bord, et manœuvra à toutes voiles pour les chasser et les reconnaître; elle joint cinq de ces bâtiments avant midi, parla à un brick anglais, navigua quelque temps avec eux, et s'assura que ces navires étaient anglais et suédois, et avaient appareillé de Livourne le même matin. Cette chasse avait porté la "Fleur-de-Lys" à l'embouchure du Golfe St.-Florent.

'Le vent varia et mollit; le commandant en profita pour se rapprocher de son port le plus habituel, près de l'île Capraia; il aperçut pour la seconde fois la "Melpomène," toujours vers le S.S.O. de cette île, à portée de pistolet de deux bateaux qu'elle reconnut sans doute; à huit heures du soir la "Fleur-de-Lys" se trouvait dans l'ouest de Capraia, à la distance de douze milles environ, et dans le N.N.O. de Giralio.

'Le 27 au matin, vers midi, la "Fleur-de-Lys" releva le Cap Corse au S.S.O. 4° O., et la Capraia encore plus près au S.S.E. demi E.

'A quatre heures du soir il fit presque calme; la "Fleur-de-Lys" était alors dans le N.O. de Capraia, explorant toute la partie du vent entre la Gorgone, l'île

d'Elbe et la dite Capraia; elle avait encore eu connaissance de la "Melpomène," toujours dans la partie du sud, et des deux bateaux précités, caboteurs ordinaires, qui à la nuit avaient fait route vers l'ouest.

'Pendant la nuit du 27 et dans la matinée du 28, la "Fleur-de-Lys," suivant son usage, courut divers bords entre le Cap Corse, la Gorgone et Capraia. Il vint en idée au commandant, vu le temps favorable, de revisiter Porto Ferrajo; mais à peine eut-il doublé Capraia par le nord, que le vent lui manque tout à coup, et il passa environ trois heures en devant de cette île, à deux tiers de lieues, en calme. Il ne découvrit que deux pêcheurs, qu'il fit accoster, et qui ne lui apprirent rien de l'île d'Elbe, le complimentant au contraire sur l'opiniâtreté de sa croisière depuis si longtemps.

'Le brick de Bonaparte que nous avions plusieurs fois vu dans le port de Porto Ferrajo, ainsi qu'un autre bateau, ce qui au reste était très-connu de nos officiers depuis que le Roi l'avait fait remettre à Bonaparte,—ce brick, ni la petite flotille, malgré les efforts, la constance, et, on peut le dire, l'opiniâtreté de la "Fleur-de-Lys," qui plusieurs fois s'est trouvée en péril, parce qu'il lui était sévèrement défendu de mouiller en aucun cas à l'île d'Elbe, seul port néanmoins qui existât sous le vent dans tout cet archipel,—cette flotille, dirons-nous, n'a été découverte ni aperçue par personne à bord de la frégate. Vu la situation de Porto Ferrajo, à deux lieues et demie du continent d'Italie, entouré de six îles et de deux écueils très-dangereux appelés les Fourmis, il aurait fallu un coup de fortune extraordinaire pour avoir réussi (sans petits bâtiments, sans mouches, sans avisos, sans une seule intelligence à terre) à arrêter ou même à voir le brick de Bonaparte, qui en tout état de cause aurait toujours pu se jeter à la côte. Si le commandant de la "Fleur-de-Lys" l'eut joint, sans égard, sans considération sur la nature de ses instructions, partout il l'aurait attaqué: pas un

individu n'en doutait à bord de la frégate; la population de Toulon, dans quelque opinion politique qu'elle avait été, en est convaincue, le Général Brulart, Gouverneur de Corse, l'est plus que personne; car d'après la connaissance qu'il a, depuis vingt ans, du zèle, du dévouement, et des principes du Chevalier de Garat, il a gardé dans sa poche l'ordre de son rappel à Toulon, expédié de ce port en poste par la goëlette "L'Antilope," quinze jours avant l'évasion de Bonaparte.

'Lord Castlereagh a dit le 19 avril, en plein parlement, que la flotte entière de sa Majesté britannique n'aurait pas suffi pour assurer la non-évasion de Bonaparte de l'île d'Elbe, vu sa situation; et il n'a été contredit par personne. Que pouvaient donc deux grosses frégates séparées, à qui il était impossible de mouiller (quelque temps qu'il fît) dans le seul port qui existe dans ces parages?'

Early during the forenoon, the Chevalier de Garat came on board the 'Partridge,' when it was agreed (in consequence of what he had stated with regard to his being near Capraja on Monday, and yet not having seen Napoleon's flotilla), that it might possibly have gone there or to Gorgona; that Captain Adye should therefore return and examine them more minutely; that Captain de Garat should proceed direct to Antibes, and if he did not find Napoleon there he should despatch an officer immediately to Paris with the news of Napoleon's escape. I gave him a despatch, No 47, for Lord Castlereagh, enclosed to the Duke of Wellington, or British chargé d'affaires at Paris, and open for perusal.

I have been induced to change my opinion, in concert with Captain Adye, for various reasons. It seems unnecessary for both ships to proceed in the same direction, and Chevalier de Garat must pursue that of Antibes, in order to despatch an officer to Paris. The conjecture upon which we set out yesterday from Elba is now less likely to prove fortunate, from Chevalier de Garat's statement,

and our not having seen Bonaparte. In thinking over every project that Napoleon may have intended, and endeavouring to reconcile Chevalier de Garat's information with that of Mr. Grattan, it appears possible that he may have secreted himself for a few days in Capraja or Gorgona, in order to lead away the 'Partridge,' and be able at night to take Leghorn by surprise. This seizure might be effected. He would obtain money, provisions, ammunition, and stores of all kinds, and a ready communication with Murat, who might send a part of his force to meet him at Florence. A portion of Murat's fleet with some troops might replace him at Porto Ferrajo, or even the whole fleet come up there from Naples.

The Chevalier de Garat approved of this change in our plan. He pursued his voyage to Antibes, and the 'Partridge' returned towards Capraja, taking on board a midshipman belonging to the 'Fleur-de-Lys' M. Fortis, for Corsica, as the captain was anxious to communicate with the Governor, Brulart.

March 2.—Very little wind all day. Standing towards Capraja, which at sunset bore east, thirty miles distant.

March 3.—At 2 A.M., near Capraja, saw a sail; sent on board, and found it to be the French schooner 'Antilope,' Captain Fernahaye. I went on board with the midshipman belonging to the 'Fleur-de-Lys.'

Went on shore at Capraja in two boats from the 'Partridge' and 'Antilope,' in hopes of obtaining information. The escape of Napoleon was not known. The commandant and mayor both stated circumstantially and separately that a brig, with six feluccas in company, was off the island the whole of Monday standing NW., and was lost sight of in the evening, having then very little wind. This confirms Mr. Grattan's information, although difficult to reconcile with what the Chevalier de Garat stated, and proves almost to a certainty that our first conjecture was

just. Captain Adye, therefore, has again shaped his course for Antibes.

March 4.—At 7 P.M. Captain Croker, of His Majesty's ship 'Wizard,' came on board. She left Genoa yesterday, and is bound for Leghorn and Palermo. Sir John Dalrymple, commanding there, had received my despatch on the 2nd instant, and the troops were put in movement to the westward on the 3rd. Wrote by the 'Wizard' to Lord Burghersh and Mr. A'Court.

March 5.—At midday spoke the Sicilian ship with Nautical School bound for Palermo. She had left Genoa yesterday at 3 P.M., at which time it was reported that Napoleon had been refused a landing by the Commandant at Frejus, and had disembarked at Antibes.

Nearly calm all day.

March 6.—Nearly calm. Off Savona spoke the transport 'Lord Wellington,' with Colonel Bourke and the Italian levy bound from Savona to Nice. There were two other transports in company. Informed that Napoleon had landed a few days ago near Antibes, and, upon finding he could not get possession of that place, had marched into the interior.

I am persuaded it will soon be proved that the invasion of France by Napoleon did not originate with himself, and that it has not long been decided upon, although he had the means of preparing and executing his plans without any possibility of detection on my part.

It was the delay in communicating with the 'Fleur-de-Lys' which alone prevented the 'Partridge' from arriving at Antibes nearly about the same time with Napoleon, and lost us the glorious chance, which was so nearly at our command, of destroying him.

March 7.—At 2 P.M. went on board H.M.S. 'Aboukir,' Captain Thomson, from Antibes, bound to Genoa, and learned, certainly to our mortification, that Napoleon had disembarked at midday on March 1, in Juan Bay, be-

tween Antibes and Frejus. In a few hours after he had marched off towards Grenoble without opposition. Five officers and thirty men, who had been sent to Antibes to summon it to surrender, were detained by the commandant. Wrote to Lord Castlereagh, enclosed to Lord William Bentinck and open for perusal.

March 8.—Anchored at Antibes. The 'Fleur-de-Lys' and 'Légérie,' French men-of-war, were in the offing. The latter came in close to us, and sent a boat on board of the 'Partridge.' Captain Adye and I returned the visit. Afterwards went on shore at Antibes, and visited General Corsin, the governor. Informed by him that, upon the 1st inst., about 11 A.M., Napoleon stood in from sea, fired two guns, and hoisted the tricolour flag on board of his brig, which was in company with several other smaller vessels. They made for Juan Bay, west of Antibes, where Napoleon disembarked his force upon the beach.

The General himself happened to be at the island of Marguerite, in the Bay of Juan, with some friends, and had no idea it was Napoleon. He and his party were looking through glasses, and when the brig hoisted the tricoloured flag, thought it was an Algerine who had captured some Genoese coasters, and was coming in to water. Early in the afternoon, the General went on to say, he received a note from the officer commanding at Antibes in his absence, requesting him to return immediately, 'for that a most extraordinary circumstance had occurred!' He thought it was merely some scuffle between the soldiers and the inhabitants, and immediately despatched an officer to the place. Later in the afternoon he received a second express, explaining the real cause of the alarm. He at once returned, but being obliged to make a considerable detour, and to scramble over rocks and bushes (the marks of which he showed me on his hands), in order to avoid Napoleon's piquets, did not arrive at Antibes till 2 A.M. on the second. He sent out parties to ascertain Napoleon's forces and

intentions, but it appears they neither impeded nor followed him.

It seems most extraordinary that the disembarkation should have taken place, and the encampment been continued from midday till nearly sunrise the next morning, without attracting more notice, or causing any measures to be taken on the part of the authorities.

However a detachment which Napoleon, after forming his camp, had sent to Antibes, had been taken prisoners without resistance. They were transferred to Toulon under a strong escort, the officers particularly having behaved in the most frantic manner, and attempted to escape during the night. One of them, a Captain Casabianca, leaped over a part of the ramparts and broke his back. They would not give any information whatever.

An officer of the garrison, who is a Corsican, and a cousin of the Bonaparte family, was put into arrest on account of some suspicious circumstances.

All the horses seized near Antibes were paid for liberally.

At Cannes a butcher got his musket with the determination of going to Juan Bay and killing Napoleon; but the inhabitants surrounded him, and begged him to desist, as their village would be burnt down, and they would all be sacrificed.

General Corsin further told me, that by the last account Napoleon was on the mountain-road from Cannes towards Grenoble. Upon the 4th he entered Digne, with only about a hundred men. The rest of his force was scattered along the road, coming up as fast as they could, and pressing mules and horses to assist them. Several desertions had taken place, and neither soldiers nor others had joined Napoleon. So far, however, he had not met with any troops to oppose him, as there were scarcely any nearer than Grenoble, where there is a considerable force of artillery, with between 1,000 and 1,500 infantry.

Marshal Masséna had marched after Napoleon with a force from Toulon, but was supposed to be considerably in his rear.

On the afternoon of the 1st the vessels again sailed out of the bay in a SE. direction. Napoleon remained in bivouac till 2 A.M. on March 2, when he marched to Grasse, on the road towards Grenoble, with his whole force and two pieces of cannon, leaving behind him the rest of his artillery, sixteen ammunition waggons, and a carriage marked P., belonging to the Princess Pauline. While in camp a great noise and mirth were kept up; people were sent out in all directions to procure horses, and several proclamations in writing were distributed. These proclamations call upon the people of France to rise against their present Sovereign and Government, who have broken their faith and promises, and sacrificed the interest and glory of France to the priests and emigrants! Nothing is said of Italy; so far from it, that Napoleon pledges himself to abandon all thoughts of foreign conquest, and to employ himself only in promoting the internal happiness of France.

The proclamation began thus:

'Napoléon, par la grâce de Dieu et la constitution de l'État, Empereur des Français;' and they are countersigned by 'Le Grand Maréchal, faisant fonctions de Major-Général de la Grande Armée, Bertrand.'

There is likewise an address from the officers and soldiers of the Imperial Guard who accompany him to the Generals, officers, and soldiers of the Grand Army.

We found at Antibes the French merchant-vessel which Napoleon had seized at Porto Ferrajo to convey a part of his force.

March 9.—There being no safe anchorage at Antibes, the 'Partridge' weighed from there and proceeded to Villa Franca, near Nice. Went over to the latter place, and waited on the Governor, General Osarce. Saw also

General Dejeany, commanding the military force sent from Genoa by the King of Sardinia, the French Consul Marquis de Candolle, and the British Consul.

The French Consul confirms all the information received yesterday at Antibes. He read me a letter, received while I was with him, from the prefect of Draguignan, of yesterday's date, wherein he details the marches of the regular troops and National Guards, from Toulon, Marseilles, and other points, directed to Napoleon's rear. He states that no partisans had joined him, nor had there been any symptoms of discontent; and he praises the enthusiastic ardour universally displayed by the population. At the same time he regrets that no opposition had been made in Napoleon's front during his march, nor any steps taken to occupy or destroy the bridge at Sisteron before his arrival there. He takes no notice of Napoleon's movements after reaching that point. It seems strange that the prefect should have had no later information.

From all that I can gather, Napoleon's marches appear to have been as follows:

Wednesday morning, March 2, left his camp, and marched by Cannes to Serenon.

Thursday, March 3, marched to Barème.

Friday, March 4, marched to Digne.

Saturday, March 5, marched to Sisteron.

The French Consul at Nice seems jealous of any circumstance being mentioned which can reflect a doubt upon the exertions and spirit of the French nation as against Napoleon. He admitted, however, that the conduct of the General commanding at Antibes was suspicious, but said his authority did not extend beyond the glacis of the fortress.

It is stated also by other persons, that General Count Gazan, who commanded at Cannes, ran away and hid himself, without taking any steps whatever. [This he admitted afterwards, on my questioning him.]

The Governor of Nice, however, seems to have acted with energy, and being disposed to give little credit to the accounts received there, he has sent confidential officers as far as Digne, but he has no report since the 5th. Although he thinks Napoleon has got as far as Sisteron, he has no confirmation of the fact. He judges that the spirit of France is not so good as might be expected, or else that the event is so very extraordinary and unexpected, that the people are stupefied. One of his officers states, upon the authority of a respectable person who witnessed it, that Napoleon entered Digne with about fifty mounted officers and cavalry and a few infantry, without any opposition. The people called out, 'Vive l'Empereur! A bas les droits réunis!' He replied, 'Oui, mes enfants! Quand j'arriverai à Paris, je m'occuperai à cela pour vous, et je m'en occupe depuis quelque temps.' Part of the road by which he has marched is very bad, mountainous and narrow, where an opposing force might arrest very superior numbers; and he has now no guns with him.

The French Consul as well as the Governor say that between twenty and thirty of the garrison of Antibes deserted the third day after Napoleon's disembarkation, when the gates were opened, and it is conjectured that they have followed him. Before being sent away, the prisoners belonging to Napoleon's Guard were treated like friends, and were seen playing bowls with the garrison. And this is confirmed by an English gentleman, who had observed their treatment during their removal from Antibes to Toulon.

March 10.—It is probable that the test of Napoleon's success will be made at Grenoble, and that he will endeavour to bring it to that issue as soon as possible, before the accumulation of force renders his passage of the Isère more difficult. If he is foiled there, he has no alternative but to retreat to Gap, and there turn off the main road by a mule-path, which leads over Mount Dauphin and Mount

Genèvre, by the river Durance, to Turin, passing by Sesana and Exele. This route is scarcely passable for a horse in many places.

As he advances, he propagates reports that he has many partisans among the principal persons in France, and that he will arrive at Paris before March 24.[1]

March 11.—Being very uneasy at not hearing any *circumstantial facts*, and being also desirous to transmit the best and earliest news to Ministers at home, as well as to Lord William Bentinck at Genoa, and Lord Burghersh at Florence, I resolved to follow Napoleon into France. Accordingly at 3 A.M. I set off towards Antibes, in the hope of obtaining certain information, and being able to judge of the spirit of the people for myself.

At Juan Bay I saw the lieutenant de douane and the commissaire, who gave me the whole story of Napoleon's disembarkation as they witnessed it. He came on shore about 3 P.M. on the 1st. During the afternoon the band continued to play occasionally. 'Où est-ce qu'on peut être mieux que dans le sein de sa famille?' He walked about under the trees, sitting down from time to time. He wore a grey great coat. At night he lay down on a mattrass with a coverlet turned over his head.

General Bertrand was constantly with him, and always kept off his hat when he approached him, as did all others.

General Cambronne went on horseback along the road towards Cannes, three or four miles off. He gave out that 3,000 men were with him, and that a large body in conjunction with the Allies had passed on by sea to Toulon and Marseilles. Detachments were placed about a mile to the right and left, to prevent anyone from passing. They at first said they had come from Corsica;

[1] As a fact, he arrived on the evening of the 20th.—ED.

afterwards that they were from Elba, and had been discharged; but when they arrived at Cannes, they gave out that the Emperor was with them, and that 4,000 more of his troops had landed west of Frejus. The mayor was directed to go to Napoleon with the public authorities, but he refused.

Between 2 and 3 A.M. on the 2nd the whole party arrived. The officers supped together at the inn. One officer paid for a horse which he bought, but all others were impressed, and left in the road when fatigued, and changed. Napoleon did not enter the town, but remained outside, where the men halted in position. After remaining there an hour or two, they turned to their right off the great road, and took the mountain-road to Grasse. It was so bad that they were obliged to leave the guns behind.

At Grasse Napoleon dined on a height above the town. A table was brought out, and he sat upon a soldier's pack. The troops were encamped round him, and employed themselves in cooking and eating.

The courier who travelled with me on the road from Nice to Draguignan told me that Napoleon was certainly taken by this time. A circular letter had been sent by the postmaster of Valence, with the assurance that he was enclosed (*cerné*) by the National Guards and garrison from Grenoble, between that city and Gap.

March 12.—Arrived at Draguignan, the chief town of the department of the Var, and visited the prefect, Comte de Bouthillier, a very clever man, and at the same time frank and communicative.

Nothing, as it appears, could have been better than his dispositions. By 6 A.M. on the 2nd, he had sent off messengers to Digne on one side, and Toulon on the other. However the prefect at Digne did not circulate the information for several hours after he received it, and took no steps to assemble the National Guard, or destroy the

bridge at Sisteron. His proclamation is only dated the 6th, two days after Napoleon had passed. The mayor of Castellane gave him a dinner. At Digne he obtained a number of blank passports, signed by the present authorities. Still the Comte de Bouthillier was sanguine in the expectation of hearing every moment that Napoleon was taken, as he was surrounded, he said. And the same idea was universal at the Count's house in the evening, where a numerous party was assembled for the prefect's weekly party. All praised the good disposition shown by the National Guards, but it is evident that the troops of the line are not equally trusted.

March 13.—About one in the morning a person with a lanthorn entered my room very silently, and told me that the prefect requested to see me immediately. In order to avoid all noise and observation, he led me by a back way, and through a stable, into the house. I found the Count in a state of extreme dismay, and occupied with his secretary. I sincerely participated in his feelings on hearing from him the intelligence he had just received from Aix and Valence, viz., that Napoleon had entered Grenoble upon the 7th at 8 P.M., and that General Marchand, with the staff and most of the officers, had retired. It may be inferred from this that the rest and the private soldiers have betrayed their duty.

This state of affairs is so serious, that I determined to go off immediately to Nice, in order to convey the earliest intimation of these melancholy circumstances to Lord William Bentinck at Genoa. I shall also report to him my observation as to the bad disposition of the troops at Antibes, and the little reliance that can be placed upon the regular army, so that he may prepare for the worst.

No actual disposition has been made by the Piedmontese for the passage of the long bridge over the Var, which separates them from Antibes.

Set off from Draguignan at 3 A.M., and arrived at Nice

at 5 P.M. At 10 P.M. went on board of H.M.S. 'Partridge' at Villa Franca, but it blew so hard that she could not with safety attempt to beat out.

Lord Sunderland[2] has arrived from Marseilles. There it is universally believed that the English had favoured Napoleon's return, and the people are furious against us. The same idea also prevails everywhere in the South of France and in Piedmont. A newspaper of Turin, just arrived at Nice, states positively this to be the case!

March 14.—Sailed out of Villa Franca at 6 A.M., and arrived at Genoa at 8 P.M.

March 15.—Wrote Lord Burghersh with news from Draguignan of the 13th inst., and mentioned a report of Napoleon having entered Lyons.

Madame Mère, as I am informed, states that Napoleon had three deputations from France before he consented to quit Elba.

March 18.—H.M.S. 'Aboukir' sailed for Leghorn.

March 19.—H.M.S. 'Partridge' left Genoa for Leghorn and Sicily.

March 20.—Left Genoa. During the night robbed of my watch and between fifty and sixty guineas by brigands near Novi.

March 21.—4 P.M. at Milan.

March 22.—7 A.M. Domo d'Ossola. 7 P.M. Left the Simplon.

March 23.—11 A.M. Sion. Carriage-wheel broke. 8 P.M. Vevay.

March 24.—Midday, Morat. Overtook Mr. Perry, the courier, who had left Genoa the morning before me.

March 25.—11 A.M. Basle. 7 P.M. Fribourg.

March 26.—2 P.M. Rastadt. 5 P.M. Carlsruhe.

March 27.—3 A.M. Manheim. Passed the Rhine.

March 28.—10 A.M. Lisère; passed the Moselle in a flat.

[2] Succeeded as fifth Duke of Marlborough, March 5, 1840.—ED.

4 P.M. Trèves. At midnight, Luxembourg. Stopped four hours to pass through the fortress.

March 29.—4 A.M. Left Luxembourg.

March 30.—6 P.M. Brussels. Remained three hours.

March 31.—6 P.M. Ostend. Sailed at 8 P.M. in H. M. brig 'Rosario,' Captain Peak.

April 1.—9 A.M. Landed at Deal, and at 9 P.M. arrived in London. Next day had interviews with Lord Castlereagh, and with H.R.H. the Prince Regent at Carlton House.

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